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DUKET, TIMOTHY ALAN

A STUDY IN BYZANTINE HISTORIOGRAPHY: AN ANALYSIS OF
THEOPHANES "CHRONOGRAPHIA" AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO
THEOPHILACT'S "HISTORY," THE REIGN OF MAURICE AND THE
SEVENTH CENTURY TO 711

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AN ANALYSIS OF THEOPHANES' CHRONOGRAPHIA
AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THEOPHYLACT'S HISTORY,
THE REIGN OF MAURICE AND THE SEVENTH CENTURY TO 711

submitted to the Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
by TIMOTHY ALAN DUKET, July 28, 1980

Boston College
Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts

BOSTON COLLEGE
GRADUATE SCHOOL

The thesis of Timothy Alan Duket
entitled A Study in Byzantine Historiography: An Analysis of
Theophanes' Chronographia and Its Relationship to Theophylact's
History, the Reign of Maurice and the Seventh Century to 711
submitted to the Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of
Boston College has been read and approved by the Committee:

John H. Rosset

Peter Charan

Samuel Miller

22 July 1980
Date

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

The central topic of this dissertation is the Chronographia of Theophanes, a chronicle that includes the years 284 to 813 and deals primarily with Roman imperial history. Written in the early ninth century, the Chronographia forces its attention upon every scholar who studies⁵ the seventh and eighth centuries. We have developed a means for analyzing Theophanes that deciphers what he himself contributed to the Chronographia and, equally important, what survives from the earlier and more contemporary, and therefore better, sources and in what state of preservation.

This study takes a new approach to Theophanes. We do not use what is known about the author's personal life to evaluate his chronicle. That is put aside. Instead, we use what is most definitely known about Theophanes to move step-by-step to evaluate other, problematic aspects of the Chronographia and its precious historical content.

We assume that what is most readily known about Theophanes is his dependence on historical sources that have survived independently. The most important of these is Theophylact's History, a work written in 622-629 on the

subject of the reign of Maurice (582-602). The dependence of Theophanes on Theophylact is the only complete example of a surviving work that Theophanes used in its entirety. The early chapters dissect the dependent relationship of Theophanes to Theophylact. It must be admitted that this method was not chosen because of its inherent clarity, but because it was the only reliable way to gain insight into Theophanes' thinking.

The remaining half of this study applies our understanding of Theophanes vis à vis Theophylact to his relationship with other sources and periods in history, namely, the seventh century to 711. Finally, on the same basis, we reassess the few bits of personal information that exist about Theophanes.

We come to certain conclusions about Theophanes and, along the way, develop new perspectives on the history of the periods which Theophanes' Chronographia includes. Some of the results are the following: (1) further evidence on a seven-day siege of Thessalonika ending September 22, 697, (2) a new chronology for the years 591-602 and another perspective on the historian Theophylact, (3) conclusions that help to define in greater detail than hitherto known the chronicle of the Patrician Trajan, (4) a new interpretation

of the role of the name "Philippikos" in seventh and eighth century Byzantium. These results and others grew from the basic attempt we have made to understand Theophanes as a chronicler at work.

We conclude that Theophanes himself was an interesting character, worthy of study in his own right. He developed useful techniques that enabled him to compile a chronicle accurately. We also conclude that he must have been the only important author of the Chronographia. We find him to be remarkably faithful to his sources, despite the extensive changes he often made in them. Theophanes was a student of history unique among his contemporaries. Certainly he made strange historical judgments, especially from our modern and critical perspective, but he did so as a result of the investigations of a student of history suffering from the student's recurrent dilemma, the lack of corroborating sources.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea of doing a study in Byzantine historiography emerged from the sessions of a colloquium entitled "Late Roman Historiography: The Latin and Greek Traditions compared" that took place at Boston College throughout the spring of 1975 under the direction of Professors Jocelyn Hillgarth and John Rosser. During the years of his tenure at Boston College before 1975, Professor Hillgarth's lectures on medieval intellectual and church history fostered my interest in the medieval period. The combined result has been this attempt to understand a medieval Byzantine historian, the chronicler Theophanes. In equal measure Professor Rosser has contributed to this study. Without his urging, this dissertation would not have been completed at the present time nor in the present form.

While researching this study, I was fortunate to make the acquaintance of Professor Emeritus Peter Charanis (Voorhees Professor of History at Rutgers University). His accessibility to young scholars during his recent year (1978/79) at the Dumbarton Oaks research library enhanced this dissertation as well as several others.

Professor Samuel Miller's trained Latin mind applied to Greek and Byzantine material served to clarify this dissertation and I thank him for reading various drafts in various states of completion. Father Michael Vaporis, Dean of Studies at the Hellenic College, read the final draft and made numerous useful suggestions which I gratefully include in my final text. Finally, Professor Alexander Kazhdan of Dumbarton Oaks read an early version of chapter seven and steered me clear of several hidden rocks. Needless to say, however, the errors and omissions in this dissertation are entirely the responsibility of its author.

The research for this dissertation was supported by the History Department of Boston College and by a generous one-year fellowship at the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Research in Washington, D.C. There, Mrs. Irene Vaslef and her helpful corps of librarians made available to me every resource needed, despite a difficult year with the library being remodelled literally around our ears.

This dissertation is dedicated to Mary Ludlow Duket, who selflessly supported my interest in the monk Theophanes despite the fact that she was barred from the very soil of Mount Athos. This study could not have been done without her.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The following are used primarily in the footnotes:

- AASS Acta Sanctorum
- AB Analecta Bollandiana
- AM anno mundi
- B Byzantion
- BS Balkan Studies
- BZ Byzantinische Zeitschrift
- CHR Catholic Historical Review
- Chronicon Paschale Chronicon Paschale, ed. L. Dindorf
(Bonn, 1832)
- CSCO Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum
Orientalium
- DAI De Administrando Imperio, ed. G.
Moravcsik, trans. R.J.H. Jenkins
(Washington, D.C., 1968)
- Dölger, Regesten . Franz Dölger, Regesten der Kaiser-
urkunden des Oströmischen Reiches
von 565-1453 (Munich, 1924;
re-issue, Hildesheim, 1976)
- DOP Dumbarton Oaks Papers
- EL Menander, Excerpta de Legationibus,
ed. C. de Boor (Berlin, 1903)
- Evagrius The Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius
with the scholia, ed. J. Bidez and L.
Parmentier (London, 1898)
- FHG Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum, ed.
C. Müller (5 vols.; Paris, 1841-1883)

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS - Continued

- George Synkellos . George Synkellos, Chronographia,
ed. G. Dindorf (Bonn, 1829)
- HGM Historici Graeci Minores, ed. L.
Dindorf (Leipzig, 1870)
- John of Ephesus . John of Ephesus, Historia Eccles-
iastica, trans. E.W. Brooks,
CSCO, Script. Syr., Ser. III.
(Louvain, 1936)
- Michael the Syrian Chronique de Michel le Syrien,
Patriarche Jacobite d'Antioche
(1166-1199), trans. J.B. Chabot
(Paris, 1904)
- Nicephorus Nicephori Opuscula Historica, ed.
C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880)
- PL J.P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus
completus, Series latina
- PG J.P. Migne, Patrologiae cursus
completus, Series graeca
- Procopius Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia,
ed. J. Haury, rev. G. Wirth
(Leipzig, 1905-1913; re-issue,
1962)
- RÉB Revue des études byzantines
- Real-Encyclopädie . Paullys Real-Encyclopädie der
classischen Altertumwissen-
schaft, rev. G. Wissowa, et al.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS - Continued

- Sebeos Sebeos, Histoire d'Héraclius, trans.
F. Macler (Paris, 1904)
- Synaxarium . . . Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum Novembris:
Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantino-
politanae, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels,
1902)
- Theophanes . . . Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de
Boor (Leipzig, 1883)
- Theophanes, II . . Anastasius Bibliothecarius, Historia
Tripartita in Theophanis Chron-
ographia, ed. C. de Boor (Leip-
zig, 1883), II, 77-340
- Theophylact . . . Theophylactis Historiae, ed. C. de
Boor (Leipzig, 1882)

INTRODUCTION

In 1965, Hans Georg Beck re-evaluated the traditional categories of Byzantine historical sources. In an article entitled "Zur byzantinischen 'Mönchschronik'"¹, he criticized the separation of Byzantine historians into two mutually exclusive cultural environments: a monkish, narrow one for chroniclers and a secular, cosmopolitan one for historians. He analyzed the social backgrounds of the known Byzantine chroniclers and found that few were actually monks, and of those only George the Monk (Harmatolos) was narrow and monkish.² Beck concluded that chroniclers and historians shared one "byzantinischen Mentalität", that their chronicles and histories differed because of individual preferences and education so that even distinctions based on style (e.g. Koine and Atticizing, or the use of classical and biblical motifs) cannot be the rationale for an oil-and-water categorization of them.³ Beck's article is a call for the renewed study of Byzantine historical writing, especially that of the chroniclers. The purpose of this dissertation is to answer that call with a study of the most important Byzantine chronicler, Theophanes, whose Chronographia⁴ is one of the highly individual works that Beck mentions. The Chronographia has always defied easy classification along traditional lines because, although not a "history" itself, it incorporates the histories of

Procopius and Theophylact, the poetry of George of Pisidia and other sources that are not easily refashioned for use in truncated annals. The language of Theophanes is an amalgam of that used in these manifold sources and his own. A uniform style is not present in the Chronographia.

Moreover Theophanes was something of an innovator among chroniclers, first because he employs a unique chronological format that combines Alexandrine World Years and Roman Indictions, also because he does not begin with creation but rather covers the years 284-813. In this latter respect it is unlike John Malalas' Chronographia and the Chronicon Paschale, chronicles of the sixth and seventh centuries which begin with Creation.

Although admired and imitated in subsequent centuries, Theophanes still differs in basic ways from the ninth century Chronicon Syntomon of George the Monk (which begins with Adam) and from the "Continuators" of Theophanes of the tenth, who began their works in 813 as sequels to Theophanes.⁵ Thus none have the same scope nor employ the same chronological format as Theophanes.

This dissertation focuses on the Chronographia and the original techniques that Theophanes used in assembling it. Theophanes' world-view and prejudices are considered only in the eighth chapter, and then in such a way as to be of

secondary importance. During this research it became apparent that Theophanes, because of the originality of his techniques, often gave the impression of knowing more than he actually knew and of having opinions that, upon close inspection of Chronographia and sources, turn out to be due to problems in the sources he used and in the techniques that he devised for solving those problems.

Nevertheless, Theophanes has interested scholars since at least the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913-959), who went so far as to claim blood kinship with the Chronographia's author.⁶ Interest in the author is due, in part, to the over-whelming importance of the Chronographia for the history of the late sixth through the early ninth centuries, for which it is perhaps the most important source.⁷ Surprisingly little is even known about the author of this important work, although scholars accept the traditional identity of the author, St. Theophanes (d. 819) the Confessor of the Second Iconoclastic Period. Unfortunately the Vita of St. Theophanes, by the Patriarch Methodios (patriarch, 843-847), does not mention the Chronographia. It does, however, provide the currently accepted biography of Theophanes: (a.) Who was born in 759 in Constantinople to high-ranking parents; (b.) Who became a monk by his teens; (c.) Who founded the Sigriane monastery (Megas Agros); (d.) Who was present at the 787 Council of Nicaea; (e.) Who

was persecuted and exiled by Leo the Armenian, and (f.) Who after 810 authored the Chronographia, even though he was a sickly invalid well over fifty years old at the time.⁸

The implications of this biographical sketch will not be discussed until the eighth chapter when we take up Mango's question "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?"⁹ However, in the preceding seven chapters it is assumed that nothing is known about the author except his work. Thus the conclusions reached about the author's identity are based on the Chronographia alone.

This dissertation depends entirely upon Theophanes' sources, both extant and hypothetical. The first part of my study involves the largest available source present in the Chronographia, Theophylact's History.¹⁰ First, Theophylact is seen through our own eyes in Chapter One, "The Chronology of Theophylact's History Reconsidered" and then through Theophanes' eyes in Chapter Two, "Theophanes' Chronology Taken from Theophylact's History". Chapter One is long and complex because it argues for a completely revised chronology for the years 591-602 in Theophylact's History. As long as Theophylact's chronology is problematical, we can never be sure about our appraisal of Theophanes' chronological method. With this reappraisal of Theophylact's chronology, it is possible to remove the

specter of "unknown" sources as additional determinants of Theophanes' chronology. The conclusion to Chapter Two is that Theophanes' chronology is inaccurate and unreliable when based on Theophylact's History, but that there is a logical basis upon which it was constructed and this basis is Theophanes' chronological method.

The second part of this study discusses the chronology developed by Theophanes for handling the wealth of information in Theophylact and how Theophanes further reduced this material to a size appropriate for the Chronographia. Here we concentrate on Theophanes' use of quoted speech, that is, verbatim reports in Theophanes of what historical characters said on specific occasions. Quoted speech abounds in the Chronographia and it is especially prominent in passages where Theophanes relies on Theophylact. We conclude that Theophanes used quoted speech in the Chronographia for chronographical rather than rhetorical purposes, and that by doing so Theophanes transformed the function of quoted speech from what it was in Theophylact's History. Chapter Three, entitled "Selection of Speeches from Theophylact's History," analyzes the process of selection and condensation by which Theophanes transformed speeches in Theophylact to suit the format of the Chronographia.

Chapter Four focuses on those speeches that Theophanes may have composed himself. Many quotations in the

Chronographia prove to be Theophanes' own inventions, created for the purpose of summarizing lengthy narrative passages in Theophylact. Such speeches appear to have been a form of shorthand by which Theophanes was able to reduce large amounts of Theophylact's narrative to manageable size. Thus by critically selecting some of Theophylact's speeches and by fabricating others, Theophanes was able to fill the Chronographia with brief, "factual" quotations of suitable length.

Part Three of this study tackles the sources that are not complete and available, like Theophylact, but rather are fragmentary or hypothetical. Chapter Five, "Philippikos and Peter in the Reign of Maurice," suggests that Maurice's brother Peter and Maurice's brother-in-law Philippikos were one and the same man. This tentative finding about Peter and Philippikos shows how (whenever possible) Theophanes sought to merge the sources for individual annals into a coherent story. However by the ninth century it had become difficult for a chronicler like Theophanes to decipher such problems as the relationship between Peter and Philippikos. There simply was not enough corroborating evidence. Theophanes dealt with historical inconsistencies by making common-sense, if sometimes erroneous, judgments.

Based on the arguments of Chapter Five and on the general picture we have created thus far of the chronicler

at work, we are next able to reevaluate (in Chapter Six) one of Theophanes' major sources for the seventh and early eighth century to 711, namely Trajan's Chronicon Syntomon.¹¹ Here Theophanes' treatment of Philippikos is used to map out the general boundaries and contours of Trajan's work, a work which does not survive, but which ended with the murder of Justinian II by Philippikos Bardanes in 711. It is suggested that this work was the source of legendary material in Theophanes about the end of the reign of Maurice (602). Chapter Six concludes our survey of Theophanes and some of his sources. It offers a picture of Theophanes as a hard-working craftsman dealing with conflicting and difficult sources.

Part Four of this study discusses the relationship of Theophanes to two of his contemporary peers. The chapter entitled "Nicephorus and Theophanes: Composition of the Breviarium" discusses mutual problems which both Nicephorus and Theophanes shared as each attempted to reconstruct the history of the seventh century on the basis of sources which were often incomplete and conflicting. It is also in Part Four that we return to Theophanes' biography to discuss the relationship between Theophanes and George Synkellos. In an article entitled "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?",¹² Cyril Mango has proposed that George Synkellos, who obliged Theophanes to write the Chronographia,

was in fact the primary author of the chronicle of Theophanes. However my research raises many doubts about this possibility. I offer instead another interpretation of Mango's evidence, one which argues that George Synkellos was not in a position to undertake the rigorous examination of the sources that the true author of the Chronographia (i.e. Theophanes) undertook.

As a final conclusion to the dissertation, we offer a portrait of Theophanes the chronicler which portrays him as an indefatigable student of the distant past and as an extraordinary figure in Byzantine historiography.

Footnotes to the Introduction

¹Hans Georg Beck, "Zur byzantinische 'Mönchschronik'," in Speculum Historiale (Freiburg, 1965), 188-197.

²Ibid., 190.

³Ibid., 197.

⁴Theophanis Chronographia, ed. C. de Boor (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1883). The de Boor edition replaces the edition of I. Classen and I. Bekker of the Bonn Corpus (1839-1841) which was based on the critically weak 1655 edition of J. Goar and F. Combes. L.F. Tafel should be credited with first using the Latin translation of Anastasius Bibliothecarius in preparing the text of Theophanes' Chronographia ("Probe einer neuen kritisch-exegetischen Ausgabe", Sitzungsberichte der philos.-hist. Classe. der Kaiser. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu Wien 9(1852), 1-21). De Boor's edition takes full advantage of the ninth century Latin manuscript of Anastasius Bibliothecarius, following Tafel's lead. K.N. Uspensky ("Očerki po istorii ikonoborčeskogo dvizenija", Vizantijskij Vremennik 3 (1950), 421-438) raises objections to excessive dependence on this Latin manuscript and the Latin translation.

⁵Theophanes Continuatus, Ioannes Cameniata, Symeon Magister, Georgius Monachus, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), 1-211 and 353-481 for Theophanes Continuatus and Georgii monachii chronicon, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904) for George Harmatolos.

⁶Constantine Porphyrogenitus (905-959), De Administrando Imperio, ed. Gyula Moravcsik and tr. R.J.H. Jenkins (Washington, 1967), 98-99 wrote Μητροπολιτικὸν τῶν ἑσχατῶν in reference to Theophanes.

⁷Interest in Theophanes and his sources has always been great. The most recent studies of Theophanes and his Chronographia have been done by Čičurov, Proudfoot, Dieten, Hanson and Mango. Cf. I.S. Čičurov, Mesto "Xronografii" Feofana (načalo IX v) v Rannevizantijskoj Istoriografičeskoj Tradicii (IV - načalo IV v), Avtoreferat Dissertacii (Moscow, 1975); "Feofan ispovednik - Kompiljator Prokopija", Vizantiskii Vremennik 37(1976), 62-73; "Feofan - Kompiljator Feofilakta Simokatty", Antičnaja Drevnost' i Srednie Veka 10(1973), 205-206; "K Probleme Avtorskogo Samosoznaniya Vizantijskix Istorikov IV-IX vv.", Antičnost' i Vizantiya, ed. Frejberg (Moscow, 1975), 203-217. Čičurov's emphasis on Theophanes' "self-consciousness" and world-view is discussed in chapter three of this study.

A.S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heracleian Dynasty", BZ 44(1974), 375-433, builds on E.W. Brooks groundbreaking examination ("The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers", BZ 15(1906), 579-587) of Theophanes' seventh century sources.

Her evaluation of the chronicler Trajan is taken up in chapter six of this dissertation. We do not deal with the possible Syriac sources of Theophanes.

J.L. Van Dieten, Geschichte der Patriarchen von Sergios I bis Johannes VI (610-715) (Amsterdam, 1972), 179-218, contains a very interesting excursus (Exkurs II) on the sources pertaining to Monotheletism. This excursus sheds important light on the source(s) Theophanes used and how he used them. Hanson's study of Theodore Lector details the nature of that work within Theophanes' Chronographia.

Most recently, Cyril Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?" Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta 18(1978), 9-17, has opened up a new "Theophanes Question". This is taken up in our chapter eight.

The general historiographical study of F.H. Tinnfeld, Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie (Munich, 1971) has influenced recent comment on Theophanes. It makes certain assumptions about Theophanes that this study may call into question. His chapter on Theophylact is also pertinent to the present dissertation.

The standard work establishing the method for dealing with a chronicler and his sources remains F. Hirsch, Byzantinische Studien (Leipzig, 1876). Uspensky, 3(1950), 396-438 and 4(1951), 211-262, is still the essential study of Theophanes' sources for eighth century Iconoclasm.

⁸Methodius, Βίος Θεοφάνους τοῦ ὁμολογητοῦ, ed. D. Spyridonos in Βυζαντινολογικὸς ἐκπαιδευτικὸς ἐκπαιδευτικὸς 12(1913), 88-96; 113-165. A superior edition, not available to me, is ed. V.V. Latyšev, Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Russie, 8th série, 13/4(1918).

⁹Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?"

¹⁰Theophylactis Historiae, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1882). It is referred to as Theophylact's "History" in the text and is abbreviated as "Theophylact" in the footnotes.

¹¹Suidae Lexicon, ed. Ada Adler, IV, 582.17-19.

¹²Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?"

PART ONE

CHRONOLOGY OF THE REIGN OF MAURICE

CHAPTER I

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THEOPHYLACT'S HISTORY
RECONSIDERED

As he wrote in the reign of Heraclius, he had no temptation to flatter; but his want of judgment renders him diffuse in trifles and concise in the most interesting facts. (Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Chapter 46, note 41)

Theophylact's History is a complex document, and its treatment of affairs in Illyricum and Thrace during the reign of Maurice (582-602) and especially from 591-602 is its most problematical subject. Emperor Maurice's strategy in Illyricum and Thrace against the Avars and the Slavs is difficult to decipher. In addition, Theophylact's knowledge of the geography of Europe is not comprehensive. Most importantly, however, the chronology of events during this interesting and crucial decade has not been definitively determined by scholars. Theophanes also faced these same three difficulties in 810 when he first began to read Theophylact's history.

This chapter discusses the details of Maurice's campaigns against the Avars and Slavs in order to argue for a comprehensive new chronology for the years 591-602. The primary justification for the presence of this chapter in the dissertation lies in the fact that Theophanes himself attempted to produce such a chronology. There are other reasons as well.

Theophylact Simocatta

Theophylact's History was written during the reign of Heraclius (610-641), probably while Heraclius was waging a war of reconquest against the Persians from 622 to 629.¹ Theophylact was an Egyptian who at one time was an imperial secretary and prefect² and was kin to the augustalios (prefect) of Egypt under Maurice.³ He was the author of two other types of literary works, both of which suggest that he was trained in rhetoric.⁴ His major work is the History in eight books which deals primarily with the reign of Maurice, but includes flashbacks to the reigns of Justin II (565-578) and Tiberius (578-582).

Theophylact was not a contemporary for most of the events that he describes. However because of his position in Heraclius' administration he may have had access to men who were. It is known that he relies on the history of John of Epiphaneia for the years up until 591, the date when Maurice restored the Persian king Chosroes II to the throne.⁵ However Theophylact does not admit this dependence, the extent of it is uncertain anyway because only the first book of John of Epiphaneia's history survives. Theophylact admits to knowing Menander, but it is more likely that he takes up where Menander's history leaves off than that he borrows from it.⁶ It is also very possible that Theophylact knew and used Evagrius' Ecclesiastical History.⁷

The conditions under which the History was written suggest that it was an officially-sanctioned effort to record and interpret Maurice's reign in the aftermath of Phocas' disastrous rule. A short dialogue placed at the beginning of the History as a kind of preamble also suggests this about the History. "Philosophy" and "History" are in conversation. "History" tells "Philosophy" that the Patriarch of Constantinople is restoring history to its former greatness just as the Emperor Heraclius had revived philosophy.⁸ It is not clear why Sergius (Patriarch from 610-638) should be interested in history and Heraclius in philosophy, but it is apparent that both history and philosophy fell into disgrace in the time of Phocas and the patriarch commissioned Theophylact to rescue history from oblivion. Whether Theophylact means that Phocas had ignored learning, especially history, because of his barbarity or that Phocas had published his own version of the reign of Maurice and of the events that led to Phocas' murder of a reigning emperor, cannot be determined. The dialogue in any case supports the suggestion that Theophylact was, in effect, hired to write the History.

The hint of a suspicion must be raised at the outset that Theophylact doctored the record on occasion to suit his employers, whoever they may have been. Paul Peeters observed, for example, that Theophylact's description of

gifts Chosroes II sent to the Church of the Martyr Sergius in 591 is falsified.⁹ The same gifts are inscribed ex-voto objects in Evagrius, who is a true contemporary of these events. Theophylact changed the inscriptions on the precious objects into letters sent separately. Father Peeters' view is that Theophylact sought to eliminate the role played by the Patriarch of Antioch, Gregory, who was the bearer of the gifts. It is also possible that when Theophylact was writing the objects offered the Church of St. Sergius were either destroyed or detested because Chosroes II conquered Armenia and Syria and was again the arch-pagan Anti-Christ.¹⁰ In either case, we are alerted to Theophylact's capacity for distortion.

Theophylact is considered most unreliable in his chronology. Moravcsik states simply that "seine Chronologie ist nicht zuverlässig."¹¹ Nevertheless, many scholars have made the attempt to clear up chronological difficulties.¹² Each blames a different characteristic of Theophylact's history for discrepancies. Blaming errors on the "literary construction" of the History, Baynes believed that Theophylact became bored with simple narrative.¹³ Bury called the main problem "a great gap in the chronology from 593-597."¹⁴ Presumably the gap was the result of a gap in manuscripts or in Theophylact's sources. Goubert believed that many of the difficulties arose because Theophylact was wrong when he stated that two Franks from Theodoric

came seeking an alliance against the Avars. Instead Goubert argued the alliance sought was against the Lombards, not the Avars.¹⁵ These scholars all share a basic distrust of Theophylact. One result of this is that when Theophylact adds a chronological marker with which they cannot agree, they call it a digression.

Table 1 is designed to compare the chronology developed in this chapter with the chronologies of Bury, Dolger, Hauptmann, Goubert and Labuda.¹⁶ After a description of each episode in Theophylact there is first a column with our new chronology, and next a column with the chronologies suggested by other scholars. The last column gives the dating of the chronicler Theophanes according to his Alexandrine world year system and its equivalent in anno Domini. This same table is used in Chapter Two of this dissertation. Item 47 on Table 1 is a good introduction to our problem. Paul Lemerle, when summarizing what is known of the chronology of Maurice's Avar wars described the date of the peace which ended that war in this way: "C'était un résultat important. Il me semble impossible de dire avec certitude si la paix fut signée en 599, 600 ou même 601."¹⁷ There is an obvious need for a resolution of the many uncertainties which Table 1 reveals, and we believe that our study of Theophylact has done just that.

Another approach to Theophylact's chronology is to assume that his History was written strictly according to a chronological sequence. This approach allows us to avoid having

TABLE 1

Item	Episode	New Chronology	Other Chronologies	Theophanes' Chronology
1.	Transfer of the army from the Persian frontier to Thrace	591	Bury, Hauptmann, 591	A.M.6002 590
2.	Solar eclipse in the ninth year of Maurice's reign	591	Bury, 591; Labuda, 592	A.M.6003 591
3.	Senate, patriarch and palace urge Maurice not to lead the army in Thrace	591	Bury, 591; Labuda, 595	A.M.6003 591
4.	Maurice's first return from Thrace to meet a Persian ambassador	591	Bury, 591	-
5.	Maurice's second departure; day-long liturgy at Pegu church (Annunciation?)	spring, 592	Bury, 591; Labuda, 595	-
6.	Wild boar attacks Maurice	592-596	Bury, 591	A.M.6003 591
7.	Storm at sea drives Maurice ashore at Selembria on the Sea of Marmora	592-596	Bury, 591	A.M.6003 591
8.	Promise to rebuild the church of St. Glukeria in Ileraclea	592-596	Bury, 591	-
9.	Birth of deformed baby in Maurice's camp	592-596	-	A.M.6003 591
10.	Deer hunt and Gaepid's murder of the young Roman officer	596	-	-
11.	Arrival of unnamed Slavic musicians at Maurice's camp	596	Bury, 591	A.M.6003 591
12.	Illness and testament of Maurice during his fifteenth year	596-597	Bury, Dölger, 596-597	-
13.	Embassy of Franks from Theodorik to Maurice in Constantinople	596	Bury, 591; Goubert, 592; Labuda, post-595	A.M.6003 591
14.	Avars demand increased tribute and Avaro-Roman treaty breaks down	596-597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
15.	Avar attack on Singidunum and departure after a brief siege	spring, 597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
16.	Appointment of Priskos as strategos of Europe	spring, 597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
17.	Avars pillage the area around Anchialus after crossing Haemus Mountains	597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
18.	First destruction of the church of Alexander Martyr in Drizipera	597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
19.	Siege of Drizipera; miraculous withdrawal of the Avars	597	Bury, 591	A.M.6004 592
20.	Avars intercept false instructions from Maurice to Priskos in Tsouroullis	597	Bury, Dölger, 591; Hauptmann, 592	A.M.6004 592
21.	Priskos' army demobilized; Priskos returns to Constantinople	fall, 597	-	-
22.	Priskos takes Roman army to Dorostolos on the Danube	spring, 598	Bury, 592; Goubert, 593; Labuda, 596	A.M.6005 593
23.	Avar Koh's embassy to Priskos; Koh's speech to the Roman army	598	Bury, 592	A.M.6005 593
24.	Defeat of the Slav Ardagastos by Priskos	598	Bury, 592	A.M.6005 593
25.	Spills taken from the Slavs sent to Maurice's children	598	-	-
26.	Gaepid helps Priskos capture Mousokios near Paspirtos River	598	Bury, 592	A.M.6005 593
27.	Tatimir brings Maurice's message ordering Priskos to winter beyond Danube	summer, 598	Bury, 592; Dölger, 592-593; Stanojević, 594	A.M.6006 fall, 593
28.	Capture of the Gaepid who murdered the Roman officer	-	-	-

TABLE 1 - Continued

Item	Episode	New Chronology	Other Chronologies	Theophanes' Chronology
29.	Priskos shares his spoils with the khagan; Sesostri's riddle	598	Bury, 592	A.M. 6087, 595
30.	Peter takes command from Priskos for the first time	August, 598	Bury, 081 ger, winter, 592-593; Labuda, 597	A.M. 6087 August, 595
31.	Peter joins festival for St. Loupos at Novae on the Danube	August, 24, 598	Bury, 593	A.M. 6088 fall, 595
32.	Peter defeats the Slav Petragastos	fall, 598	Bury, 593	A.M. 6089 597
33.	Peter's army wiped out by Slavs; Priskos replaces Peter	winter, 598-599	Bury, 597	A.M. 6089 597
34.	Four years after the death of Patriarch John the Faster	599	Bury, ca. 593-597	-
35.	A comet is interpreted as a portent of evil days to come	599	-	-
36.	Priskos returns to an army in shambles because of Peter's command	spring, 599	Bury, 597; Labuda, 598	A.M. 6090 fall, 597?
37.	Khagan attacks Singidunum, which is relieved by Priskos	early summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M. 6090 fall, 597?
38.	Avar khagan and Priskos retire for the winter	-	-	A.M. 6090 winter, 597-598?
39.	Khagan attacks Dalmatia; Goudouls follows and harasses	summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M. 6091 fall, 598
40.	Illatus of eighteen months along the Danube	early summer, 599 to winter, 600	Bury, 598-599; Labuda, 598-600	-
41.	Monk predicts Maurice's murder; a prophecy of the emperor's nineteenth year	August, 600 to August, 601	-	A.M. 6093 601
42.	Avar siege of Tomae and Priskos' attempt to end it	winter, 600-601	Bury, winter, 599-600	A.M. 6092 spring, 600, March of 3rd Indiction
43.	Easter truce at Tomae between khagan and Priskos	601	Bury, 600	A.M. 6092 Easter, 600
44.	Kontentolios attacks to the rear of the Avars besieging Tomae	601	Bury, 600	A.M. 6092 600
45.	Avar capture of Drizipera; second destruction of the church of Alexander Martyr	601	Bury, 600	A.M. 6092 600
46.	Khagan's seven sons killed by plague attacking Avars in Drizipera	601	Bury, 600	A.M. 6092 600
47.	Ilamatos manages to renew treaty with bereaved Avar khagan	601	Hauptmann, 599; Bury, 599 or 600; 081 ger, Labuda, 600; Lemerle, 599, 600, or 601	A.M. 6092 600
48.	Roman embassy to the Persian king to preserve the existing peace	601	Bury, 600	-
49.	Priskos and Kontentolios launch a joint campaign from Viminakium	601	Bury, 081 ger, summer, 600	A.M. 6093 601
50.	Priskos' successes sans komentolios against Avars, Slavs and others	fall, 601	Bury, 600	A.M. 6093 601
51.	Maurice orders Priskos to return Avar prisoners to the khagan	fall, 601	Bury, 600; 081 ger, 601	A.M. 6093 601
52.	Kontentolios, lost returning from Viminakium, winters at Philippopolis	winter, 601-602	Bury, winter, 600-601	A.M. 6093 601
53.	Stoning of Maurice on his way to Blachernae	February 2, 602	Bury, 601	A.M. 6093 601
54.	Peter's second appointment as strategos of Europe in Maurice's twentieth year	spring, 602	Bury, August, 601	A.M. 6094 winter, 601-602
55.	Peter in Iordanika; negotiates with Avar Apstich; retires to Thrace	early fall, 602	Bury, fall, 601	A.M. 6094 602
56.	Peter at Adrianople in Thrace ordered to Danube; Goudouls crosses the Danube	fall, 602	Bury, 602; 081 ger, fall, 602	A.M. 6094 602
57.	Peter ordered to winter beyond the Danube; Peter's army rebuffed and chased; Phocas	late fall, 602	602	602

to explain away chronological problems by referring to gaps in the manuscript, errors which Theophylact himself made and of course later interpolations.

This chapter is primarily a discussion of the chronological markers given by Theophylact in that author's own sequence. It has been necessary to go into much detail in order to establish these "chronological markers", a term used here for any occurrence in the History that can be dated independently by reference to other sources. Such a marker in other sources may be anything from a regnal year to the dating of the death of a patriarch.

We do, however, make one assumption about Theophylact, that the years 591-596 were the years of Maurice's reign that Theophylact knew the least about. The reasons for this are clear. First, Theophylact had written sources that enabled him to write a coherent narrative of the years of Maurice's reign up to 591. The major source for this was John of Epiphaneia. Menander, John of Epiphaneia and perhaps even Evagrius enabled him to report accurately about the years before Maurice (i.e. before 582), during the two preceding reigns of Justin II and Tiberius. However, these sources ended in 591. Even Evagrius faded off into local Antiochene affairs after the restoration of Chosroes in 591, an event in which Evagrius' patron Gregory of Antioch played a pivotal role.¹⁸ Accordingly, the 591-596 period

is the period most distant from Theophylact's own lifetime, a period for which he did not have good historical sources.

The events of 591-596 were probably thirty years distant from the time Theophylact was writing. Even if he began his research in 611, this period was already sixteen years past. All evidence suggests, moreover, that he wrote the History during the 620s. Putting this in terms of generations, the 591-596 period was in all probability more than a generation later than Theophylact. On the other hand, the 597-602 period was closer in time and it is likely that because of this Theophylact was able to rely on oral, eye-witness accounts.

In 622, Theophylact appears to have found eye-witnesses for his account about the wars in Illyricum and Thrace. The following passage is very important because it shows that Theophylact came into possession of detailed reports about events and conversations that took place within the armies in Europe along the Danube during the years 599-602. For example, there is this passage from Theophylact:

For the sake of the credibility of my claim [about the well-deserved fate Phocas supporters suffered], I will interrupt the sequence of my narrative for a moment [to offer an example]. When the autocrat Heraclius went to war against [the Persian] Razates, he examined the war-readiness of the infantry in 622 and found only two soldiers left of the tyrant-lovers [Phocas-loving infantry] even though not very many years had elapsed.¹⁹

Heraclius assembled and reorganized this army in 622.²⁰ One may doubt that only two men could be found who served

with Phocas in Thrace under the generals Priskos and Peter from 599-602. The two men in question here were recognized as supporters of Phocas, so one may suspect that they were prominent officers and colleagues of Phocas rather than common soldiers.

The significance of this passage lies in Theophylact's knowledge of this insignificant incident. It shows that he was present with Heraclius at this time. It implies that these officers were sought out by Theophylact or Heraclius to provide the kind of information necessary for Theophylact to write such detailed passages about the goings-on in the army of Thrace. In effect, Theophylact was speaking here less about two soldiers whom Heraclius hoped to purge from the army (they were not purged) than about the two survivors whom he seems to have relied upon as eye-witnesses of the event. As a result, Theophylact's History seems at times to read like a series of oral field reports from officers who had fought in Thrace.

To conclude this introduction to Theophylact, we may assume that he possessed eye-witness sources for the wars in Illyricum and Thrace, events with which the balance of this chapter is primarily concerned. Such sources knew most about the last years of Maurice (599-602) and least about the period after the restoration of the Persian king Chosroes II, 591-596. Theophylact was a rhetorician who was capable at the very least of altering the testimony

of his sources so as to produce a more readable and interesting history. Despite Theophylact's alleged unreliability, it has been possible to base our own chronology strictly on Theophylact's sequence of events, and on the few independent chronological markers which he provides.

591-596. The Mystery War in Thrace

The Avars

The Avars were technically at peace with the Roman Empire. Did they renew their war with the Romans just as the Romans ended a long preoccupation with a Persian war in 591? Bury and Goubert think so.²¹ This peace dated back to a treaty negotiated by Tiberius and renewed in 584.²² During the Persian war, the Romans continued to send a yearly payment to the Avars. However, when Maurice transferred his army to Thrace and himself marched out of Heraclea on the Sea of Marmora, he found the Church of St. Glukeria there in ruins, destroyed by the Avars.²³ This leaves the impression that there was open war at that time between Avars and Romans. Maurice promised the local people that he would reconstruct this church, in effect making it a symbol, one may suppose, of his intention to restore security to Thrace.

Were the Avars on a rampage in 591 and 592? This question must be answered in the negative even though the mention of the church of Glukeria implies that Maurice meant to retaliate against the Avars for a recent invasion. However, this does not mean that the Avars had just been as close to Constantinople as Heraclea. On the contrary, what had just happened was the success in Persia that made it possible for Maurice to turn his attention to Thrace.

The church had probably been destroyed during the two Avar invasions that reached the Long Walls outside Constantinople in the first six years of the 580s.²⁴ These invasions are described by both Theophylact and Evagrius.

Evagrius is an important witness to this discussion about an Avar invasion in 591 and 592. He described the Avars twice reaching the Long Walls, Singidunum (Belgrade) and Anchialus, as well as all of Hellas, along with many other cities.²⁵ These invasions took place before the end of the Persian war, however. Significantly, Evagrius does not mention Avar activity in the early 590s. The last event in his church history is the death of his patron, Gregory of Antioch, in 593.²⁶ Lacking any mention of Avars in Thrace, a subject in which he was clearly interested, Evagrius supports a conclusion that the Avars were quiet from the end of the 580s until Evagrius finished writing in about 594.²⁷

This does not mean, however, that the Avars withdrew back across the Danube to their original Pannonian base. They retained Sirmium on the Sava and had access to Illyricum at this crossing point. Their two invasions made another invasion a constant threat and gave them influence with the Slavs, who were settling here and there throughout south-east Europe. Established on territories they must have now regarded as their own, the Avars were not likely to

become terrified by the transferral of a Roman army from the East to Anchialus in Thrace.²⁸ In sum, the Avars were established below the Danube and Sava Rivers, west of the Margus (Morava). Though the Romans may have continued to hold the fortress cities Justinian had restored on the riverbanks of Danube and Margus, the Avars had effective territorial control of areas away from the rivers. Such areas may have extended as far south as the area of mountains that separates modern-day Serbia from Macedonia, then called Dardania with its capital at Skupi and the other main city of Naissos.

A description of Thrace and Illyricum during this period must begin by describing these areas as containing two reciprocally recognized realms whose exact borders we cannot know. Both realms include increasing numbers of Slavic migrants and neither controlled the flow of Slavs, nor exercise full legal and political control within these uncertain boundaries. This description is not complete without a statement about the factor that gave it its equilibrium: its balance of power. On an unofficial and informal basis, the Romans and Avars cooperated in an effort to control the Slavs that was necessary for both sides.²⁹ When Maurice transferred his army from the East, he hoped to end this relationship with the Avars, establishing full Roman authority in Thrace once again. The first thing he needed to do was to establish control over the Slavs, not

wage war upon the Avars.

This policy toward the Avars is implied by Theophylact, who does not state that Maurice was intent on war against them: "Maurice learned that the Avar army again wanted to invade. When their expected attack took place, he would be ready."³⁰ This chapter argues that there was no such attack by the Avars until 597. Meanwhile, Maurice sought to restore Roman authority and security in Thrace in the 591-596 period. What happened to this effort is not stated by Theophylact. A summary of what Theophylact does report may suggest why.

Maurice's Thracian Campaign

As we observed earlier, if legend and error were to be found in Theophylact's narrative, they would most likely be found in 591-596 when the author was bereft of sources. In fact as well as in theory this period, which follows Maurice's success in Persia, is the most difficult in Theophylact's entire History. It is largely a tangle of prodigies, mishaps and maneuvers that appear to have no causal or chronological relationship to one another. Table 2 gives a quick overview of the events to be discussed. There are no usable chronological markers before Frankish ambassadors arrive in ca. 596 and before Maurice becomes ill in his fifteenth year (items 13 and 12), except for an eclipse of the sun (item 2) which occurred during the ninth year of Maurice's reign (August, 590-August, 591). This eclipse and a violent windstorm marred Maurice's departure for Thrace from Constantinople in that year.

TABLE 2

Items 1-14

Item	Episode	New Chronology	Other Chronologies	Theophanes' Chronology
1.	Transfer of the army from the Persian frontier to Thrace	591	Bury, <i>Historia</i> , 591	A.M. 6082 191
2.	Solar eclipse in the ninth year of Maurice's reign	591	Bury, 591; Labuda, 592	A.M. 6083 571
3.	Senate, patriarch and palace urge Maurice not to lead the army in Thrace	591	Bury, 591; Labuda, 595	A.M. 6083 591
4.	Maurice's first return from Thrace to meet a Persian ambassador	591	Bury, 591	-
5.	Maurice's second departure; day-long liturgy at Paga church (Annunciation?)	592-596	Bury, 591; Labuda, 595	-
6.	Wild boar attacks Maurice	592-596	Bury, 591	A.M. 6073 591
7.	Storm at sea drives Maurice ashore at Selembria on the Sea of Marmara	592-596	Bury, 591	A.M. 6083 591
8.	Promise to rebuild the church of St. Glukeria in Heraclea	592-596	Bury, 591	-
9.	Birth of deformed baby in Maurice's camp	592-596	-	A.M. 6083 591
10.	Deer hunt and Gaeplid's murder of the young Roman officer	596	-	-
11.	Arrival of unarmed Slavic auxiliaries at Maurice's camp	596	Bury, 591	A.M. 6083 591
12.	Illness and testament of Maurice during his fifteenth year	596-597	Bury, 591; Labuda, 596-597	-
13.	Embassy of Franks from Theodorik to Maurice in Constantinople	596	Bury, 591; Goubert, 592; Labuda, post-595	A.M. 6083 591
14.	Avars demand increased tribute and Avaro-Roman treaty breaks down	596-597	Bury, 591	A.M. 6084 592

FIGURE 1
MAURICE'S THRACIAN CAMPAIGN
(591-596?)



Theophylact states that Maurice left on the expedition only to return to the capital after reaching Hebdomon, the station seven miles along on the Via Ignatia. The reason given is that Maurice had to receive ambassadors from Persia. This appears to have been chiefly an excuse to return because, before he left the city anew, Maurice made efforts to propitiate God, something which he had not done the first time he went off to war. "Having handily disposed of the demand [which is not explained] of the [Persian] ambassador, he performed an all-night vigil in the sanctuary built by Justinian in honor of Holy Wisdom."³¹ The next day he prayed with the people at the Church of the Virgin of the Well, located outside the city gate by the same name (Pege Gate) on the road towards Hebdomon and Region, where Maurice the next day would spread largesse (ἐλευσεν) among refugees. Maurice had not liked the prospects for his first departure and for this expedition's success from its start.

The second time Maurice left the city he was soon attacked by a wild boar two days beyond Hebdomon en route to Heraclea on the Sea of Marmara (Propontis). He stayed on his horse and the boar escaped. Maurice's survival was regarded as a miracle calling for the sign of the cross.³² Maurice did not seem to be safe even within ten miles of his own capital.

At this point Maurice took ship from Selebria to

Heraclea. This was a trip by land of only a score of miles. The only explanation that could be made for this strange boat trip is that the boar's attack was interpreted as a sign that to proceed by land was dangerous. Soon after he sailed from Selembria, Maurice was driven ashore again and nearly drowned by a storm. Finally, he made it to Heraclea on horseback.

There he promised to rebuild the Church of St. Glukeria, and he built fortifications for his troops. Both of these events increase one's suspicion that even this close to Constantinople the Roman army was not safe from unseen dangers (attacks of boars or ambushes by Slavs). The emperor was confronted with the screams of a woman giving birth to a hideously deformed baby. This weakened his confidence further, and he ordered the monstrosity killed. Theophylact writes that "He was at a loss about his future because he was disturbed already about the things that had just happened."³³ "His future" may or may not refer to Maurice's concerns about his eternal salvation, they are meant to indicate that he was worried about something more than possible defeat, and was somehow tempting fate.

The next incident during Maurice's long march was a deer hunt. In the heat of this chase, a youthful and beautiful imperial bodyguard, and a Gaepid (one of a tribe of barbarians who served as foederates in the Roman armies),

pursued the lead deer into a deep wood where the Gaepid murdered the illustrious Roman from the bodyguard. The murdered youth was apparently very close to Maurice.³⁴ This tale is left incomplete at this point and is picked up at a point one year later and sixteen pages farther along in Theophylact's narrative, where it is suggested that this murder has deeper meanings. The most basic message, however, is that Maurice was hunting not far from Heraclea when yet another misfortune struck his camp.

Then three unarmed Slav musicians came to Maurice's camp claiming that they heard about the greatness of the Romans. Maurice sent them back to Heraclea and continued his advance. Thus far the only Slavs which the Roman army had met were these three peaceful musicians! According to Theophylact's description of Maurice's march, these are the only Slavs he was to meet.

Six days out from Heraclea Maurice once more received envoys from the Senate who begged him to return. He sent them away and proceeded personally to lead his troops across a narrow bridge (or a "narrow passage"?) over swampy ground near the source of the Xerogypson River.³⁵ He spent the day on the bridge keeping his men under tight discipline. This bridge crossing was the point of highest danger during Maurice's personal tenure as general. What was the danger? No enemy forces are mentioned, neither Slavs nor Avars.

Just as with the deer hunt in which the imperial bodyguard was murdered, one must suspect that Theophylact meant to tell only part of the story, thus keeping the reader in suspense.

On the next day Maurice pitched camp near Anchialus. At the end of a fortnight there he returned to Constantinople to meet Persian ambassadors again. Maurice's period of command ended as quietly as it began. One wonders what the worry and forebodings were all about. The length of time that Maurice was gone can only be guessed. It was long enough a time for the city to become quite unhappy about Maurice's absence, if we judge by the several delegations begging him to return. It was also long enough for two Persian embassies to arrive at Constantinople. This suggests that Maurice's march lasted at least one year, since embassies were likely to be exchanged no more frequently than once a year. The two Persian embassies could have been three or four years apart. In any event, Maurice's return to Constantinople ends the 591-596 period in Theophylact's History, a period bereft of a satisfactory chronology.

No other passages in Theophylact are so seemingly unimportant and uninformative. The omens and prodigies, the boar hunt, the deer hunt, the arrival of the three musical Slavs, in addition to the hazardous crossing of the Xerogypson River

and the death of a prized horse all seem to be inconsequential events. None provides a chronological marker. On the other hand, the incidents are carefully explained, indicating that there was a reason for their inclusion. Do they hide, or somehow disguise the record of Maurice's failed attempt to re-establish Roman control in Thrace over the newcomers there, the Slavs?

597-602, The Avaro-Slavono-Roman Wars

The Danube Defense and Singidunum

Maurice's absence from Thrace after 596 changed the nature of the Roman approach to the Avars and Slavs. The 591-596 period was one in which Maurice, perhaps inflated by his Persian success, tried to govern Thrace militarily. Theophylact does not, except by implication, reveal what this campaign in Thrace achieved. It may well have failed altogether, as the Slav presence in Thrace only grew stronger and the Avars invaded Thrace as soon as Maurice withdrew to Constantinople in 596. Either Maurice took his army with him, transferring it back to the East, or it had been weakened by defeat. One can safely say that the Romans were weaker in Thrace in 596 than they were in 591.

In the 597-602 period Maurice turned to what Theophylact calls the Scipio Africanus strategy, one credited to the Roman general Philippikos.³⁶ Scipio, one recalls, attacked

Carthage, forcing Hannibal to leave Italy. One major tactic in the sixth century version of this strategy was to attack behind the armies of Slavs and Avars, driving into their settlements beyond the Danube. This caused them to return to their villages and made them hesitant to attack Thrace again lest the Roman tactic be repeated. The effectiveness of this approach was realised by Maurice in 597 when Priskos was besieged at Tsouroullou and on the point of surrendering it to the Avars (item 20 on Table 1). Maurice wrote a letter to Priskos that was intended to fall into Avar's hands. The letter told Priskos not to lose hope because Maurice had sent a flotilla into Avaria on the Upper Danube, a fleet that would destroy the Avar home base. When the khagan read the letter, he quickly made a peace and withdrew to Avaria. The complete text of this letter is reproduced (or invented?) by Theophylact, who by virtue of its inclusion underscores the significance he attached to the letter and to the new tactic.³⁷

The reader notices that this letter is dated 597 in this study. Other scholars date it to 591 and 592. Hauptmann, for example, argues for 592 because he claims that the Avars were weak at that time and susceptible to such deception.³⁸ Thus he assumes that the Romans became much stronger in Thrace after peace with the Persians in the East. However, Hauptmann's reasoning is contradicted by the facts. The letter was necessary because Maurice was too weak to do

anything else, not too strong. Hauptmann, in effect, attempts to use the letter to Priskos as a chronological marker to buttress his chronological thesis. However, better chronological markers which are offered in this chapter date this letter to 597. The contrast between Hauptmann's reasoning and my division of 591-602 into two distinct periods, 591-596 and 597-602, is sharp and illustrates, I believe, the type of error prevalent in previous attempts to resolve Theophylact's chronology.

The problems as well as the successes of Maurice's reign after 596 stem from the Scipio strategy. For one thing, Maurice began this new period by appointing Priskos "strategos of Europe", a command that was not, apparently, in existence when Maurice personally led his armies into Thrace.³⁹ Maurice told Priskos that "the barbarians would not be pacified unless the Roman army fortifies the Ister as much as possible".⁴⁰ Although it is difficult to know what Theophylact the historian meant by "strategos of Europe", perhaps magister militum for the West, or exarch of Thrace is meant.⁴¹ However, it is clear Maurice had decided it was necessary to maintain a constant military presence along the Danube. The barbarians could not be contained by armies which came from Constantinople only in response to invasion. One drawback, however, was that, as Theophylact informs us time and again, Maurice never entrusted his general, Priskos,

with the necessary authority.

There were other flaws in this strategy. Keeping armies in the field for extended periods was more expensive. The armies under Priskos (and his successors) had to be large enough to be both defensive and offensive threats. They required large numbers of horses, since cavalry units played an important role in quick expeditions beyond the Danube. They stayed in place year-round, that is, they did not disband during the winter season. Most of the political and military problems of the declining years of Maurice's reign (597-602) stem from his attempts to do anything which would defray this cost.⁴²

The Danube

Before discussing Theophylact's narrative for 597-602, we must attempt to define what Theophylact meant by "Ister", a term the Romans used for the Danube. Was the Danube the boundary between the barbarians and the Roman Empire? Theophylact's use of the term in general passages and for the terms of treaties makes it clear that the Ister was the boundary between Avars and Romans. However once the Avars captured (sometime between 579-581) Sirmium on the Sava River, they had permanently breached the traditional Danube-Sava line which demarcates Illyricum and Thrace from Pannonia and Dacia (see Figure 2 below). The Avars, in effect, were below the Danube after 581, and thus it is likely Theophylact meant by "Ister" something more than the Danube.

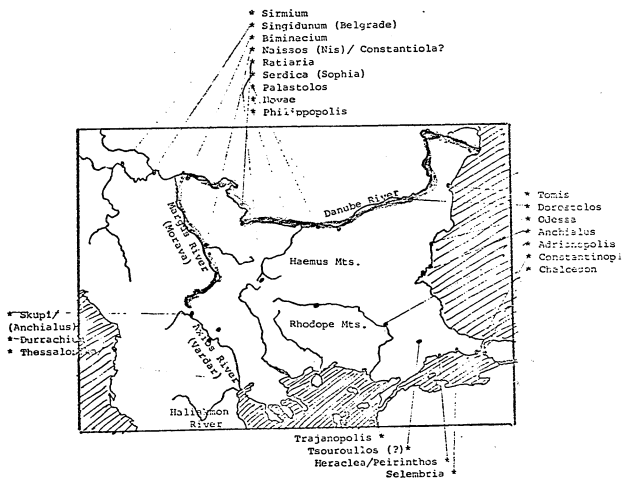
Other ancient writers use "Ister" in such a way as to suggest an answer to this problem. Strabo called only the Lower Danube below the Iron Gates (called the Cataracts by Strabo), the "Ister". The Upper Danube to the Drava was the "Danubius".⁴³ Strabo seems to associate the Ister only with Thrace and Dacia. Priskos, a fifth century historian (not to be confused with the general appointed by Maurice) placed the city Naissos, the city "founded by Constantine", on the "Danoubas" and another time on the "Ister".⁴⁴ Naissos is situated on the Nischava River as it flows into the Margus (Morava) River. Thus these two writers suggest that the Upper reaches of the Danube were not always clearly distinguished from its tributary rivers, in particular, from the Margus (Morava). Priskos was impressed with Naissos as a strategic point at which the river could be forded by an army. On the basis of these testimonies, we suggest that by "Ister" Theophylact meant the Danube and its tributary the Margus (Morava). Such a boundary separated the Avars in Pannonia, and those at Sirmium, as well as those below the Sava River from the Romans in Thrace and Lower Moesia above the Haemus mountains (see Figure 2 below).

Singidunum (Belgrade)

The fate of Singidunum during the reign of Maurice explains the actual state of affairs along these rivers,

FIGURE 2

THE ISTER-MARGUS FRONTIER



the Ister, the Margus, the Danube, and the Sava. Singidunum remained a Roman outpost throughout Maurice's reign. Although the Avars destroyed it in 582, the year after they captured Sirmium, there was a Roman presence there in 597 and 601 which prompted an Avar attack and caused the general Priskos to come to the city's relief (items 15 and 37 on Table 1). This Roman presence was maintained because of their control of the rivers.

The Avars left the Romans in possession of river towns because the Avars lacked boats, relying as they did on the Slavs for river crossings.⁴⁵ Since Avar invasions were solely land assaults, Singidunum could remain a Roman town, even though the Avars controlled the territory inland from the rivers. The meaning of this for the study of Theophylact lies in the fact that he regarded Singidunum as Roman territory while at the same time tacitly admitting an Avar presence around Singidunum.

The circumstances of the Avar invasion of 597 provide an historical example which sums up the Avar attitude towards Roman towns like Singidunum. The Avar Khagan ordered Slavs to provide him with boats for a massive crossing of the Sava at Sirmium. Presumably, an entire Avar army was to be ferried across. However the residents of Singidunum travelled up the river and destroyed the boats which the Slavs had assembled. The scuttling of his fleet so provoked the khagan that he besieged Singidunum. Before this, the

khagan seems to have had no intention of bothering Singidunum once he crossed the Sava. This indifference toward the city is indicated further in this instance by the fact that when Singidunum did not immediately fall into his hands, the Khagan accepted a cash payment from the city and continued with his planned invasion, an invasion that eventually reached the Long Walls of Constantinople.⁴⁶ How long did the Avars besiege Singidunum? Probably only long enough to ferry the Avar army across the Sava and to extract payment from the city.

The remainder of this Avar invasion was made over land. When the Romans hoped to repulse the invasion they did not send a fleet to the relief of Singidunum up the river, but planned to meet the Avars when they reached the passes in the Haemus mountains into Thrace. These considerations lead to the conclusion that the Avars maintained de facto territorial domination in areas below the Sava-Danube line despite the presence of Roman cities on the rivers.

In conclusion, the situation that existed when the Avars invaded Thrace and when Priskos was appointed strategos of Europe was three-fold. First, the Avar army was a land-based unit which the Romans considered too powerful to be met head-on. Secondly, the river system still offered some protection against the Avars, but along a second line of defense, that of the Margus-Ister Rivers. Thirdly, the

Roman towns survived, partly because of a Roman navy on the rivers and partly at the convenience of the Avars. Priskos, during the period from 597-602, used these towns as jumping-off points for his Scipio Africanus strategy against the Slavs and Avars. The weakest link in this Roman system was not the upper Danube, once Sirmium fell in 581. It was the upper Margus, south from Naissos where that river was easily forded. In the area south of Naissos also lie the key mountain passes to Phillipopolis and to Thessalonika. All of these geographical and military considerations are essential to understanding Theophylact's chronology.

Frankish Ambassadors from Theodoric in 596

The first in a series of chronological markers is the arrival of "Celts" (i.e. Franks) from Theodoric seeking an alliance against the Avars. Other scholars have suggested that Theophylact is mistaken here, that the Franks sought an alliance against the Lombards, matching events in the West known to have taken place in 592.⁴⁷ In 592, however, Theodoric was not yet ruler of the Franks, Childebert II was. This ruler died in 595, a date which provides the terminus ante quem for this embassy. However, only Labuda bases his calculations on 595 and after.⁴⁸ To accept the 592 date and follow Goubert we must change Theodoric to Childebert and the Avars to the Lombards. It seems easier to accept what Theophylact

wrote, Moreover, Theodoric had reason to seek such an alliance. Theodoric's grandfather had at one time been a captive of the Avar khagan.⁴⁹ So although the evidence is limited on this point, what exists points to the date 596. For the moment we can assume that Maurice returned to Constantinople during this year.

It is an interesting sidelight that Maurice wanted this alliance with the Franks, but was unwilling to pay for it with subsidies.⁵⁰ Maurice's unwillingness, or should we say his inability to pay subsidies is more consistent with the Roman situation in 596 than in 592. Since the triumph in 592 over the Persians, a triumph which restored Armenia to the Roman Empire, a great deal of this success had been expended.

The Avar invasion that followed immediately after the Frankish embassy was brought about by a similar parsimoniousness on Maurice's part. The khagan of the Avars asked for an extension on the Avaro-Roman treaty which had been in existence since the reign of Tiberius. This treaty involved tribute to the Avars and such monies Maurice refused to pay.⁵¹ Unable to make Thrace secure himself and unable or unwilling to continue to pay the Avars, Maurice provoked a massive Avar invasion, one which prompted the emperor to appoint Priskos as commander of the army of Europe. The Avars still marched as far as the Long Walls,

something they had not done since 586. In this case as in the case of the Frankish embassy, Maurice's refusal to pay is more in tune with 596-597 than with 591-592.

The Siege of Thessalonika, September 22, 597

The invading Avars were held up for a few days by Salvianus, in command of cavalry sent by Priskos, but they entered Thrace at Sabulente Kanalin, devastated the area around Anchialus, then destroyed the church of the Martyr Alexander and besieged the town of Drizipera which was, however, saved by a miracle.⁵² Theophylact's History does not yield much more information about the invasion as a whole, except that the siege of Drizipera is described in considerable detail.

Do any of the events of this Avar invasion offer us chronological information? If so, it may be possible to pinpoint the date of the siege of Drizipera. Certainly the miracle that ended the siege at Drizipera resembles the miraculous delivery of Thessalonika from the Avars in 597 (or, as some scholars hold, 586). If we can develop a convincing case for Drizipera being Thessalonika, we will possess confirmation of a secure chronology for Theophylact.

The date September 22, 597, or 586 for the siege of Thessalonika is based on the mention of Sunday, September 22 in the Miraculi Demetrii.⁵³ That particular Sunday occurred in both those years. The best datum for determining

which year, 586 or 597, is the name given for the archbishop of Thessalonika at the time, Eusebius, who was in office from 597-603.⁵⁴ This strongly argues in favor of 597. Opponents of 597 advance the date 586 because there is an Avar invasion recorded by the sources, including Theophylact, in 586. This is partly an argument e silentio because it depends on the contrast of 586 in Theophylact to 597 in Theophylact. There was no Avar invasion mentioned by Theophylact in 597, according to Bury, Goubert, Hauptmann and Labuda. However, our calculations do indeed place an Avar invasion in that year. This in itself provides a good reason for investigating the siege of Drizipera in Theophylact's History, and comparing it to the siege of Thessalonika in the Miraculi Demetrii.

Was Drizipera Besieged Once or Twice?

In Theophylact, the siege of Drizipera is described in this way. The Avars held Drizipera, an apparently insignificant town, under siege for seven days. The populace of Drizipera was organized for resistance, but on the seventh day the Avars brought siege engines into place,⁵⁵ at which point the Romans panicked and decided on a suicidal sally against the Avars. But just before the Romans could commit this folly, the Avars were frightened by a vision of a massive Roman army leaving Drizipera to attack the Avars.

The siege was lifted owing to this miracle.

The khagan may have given up this siege, but this did not end his expedition against the Romans. He continued his advance towards the Long Walls and drove Priskos from Heraclea, on the coast of the Sea of Marmora, into the fortress of Tsouroullas. This continued, unopposed advance towards Constantinople could not have been the result of the alleged flight from Drizipera.⁵⁶ Did Theophylact give Drizipera a significance and strength out of all proportion to its reputation in other historical sources?⁵⁷

There are interesting parallels between this siege and the siege of Thessalonika which suggest that they are the same episode told in two versions: the one version by Theophylact, the other by the Archbishop John of Thessalonika, who wrote in the early seventh century.⁵⁸ Each siege was seven days long, for example, and a miraculous deliverance took place on the seventh day. However the parallels run much deeper than this.

The Romans in Drizipera panicked and developed false courage because of their despair at the appearance of siege engines. The Romans in Thessalonika were also desperate, "virtually dead body and soul", and also suddenly took heart inexplicably, like the Romans in Drizipera.⁵⁹ Moreover, the Romans in each case were protected when their renewed courage caused them to charge impetuously out of the gates. At Drizipera, of course, the Avars fled before the Romans

made their sally. At Thessalonika, the gates became stuck open when some men went out to attack the engines, but no Avar entered. Are these not the same events describing one and the same siege? Both stories mention an Avar attack with siege engines. Both accounts state that it was a miracle the Avars refrained from taking the city involved. On the seventh day at Thessalonika the vision of an army in the city caused the Avars to flee to the hills. The Romans in Thessalonika were told by some Avar deserters that the Avars believed the Romans had held their army in reserve within the walls and would kill the Avars the next day.⁶⁰

Why did the Avars really end each of these sieges? The siege of Drizipera was only one part, as we have seen, in an Avar expedition aimed at Constantinople. The same may have been true of the siege of Thessalonika since the Avars, after their siege failed, fled from Thessalonika eastward towards Constantinople.⁶¹ If they were truly in flight, they would have retreated north and west towards Skupi and the road back to Pannonia, not eastward.

In both cases the expeditions stopped for only a week's time, probably because the Avar army was too large and aggressive to remain long in one spot. However, Thessalonika was a prize worth the risks of stopping an expedition in the middle of its course, if only for seven days. Drizipera

could hardly have been. If Drizipera=Thessalonika, why would Theophylact have made the substitution?

Why Did Theophylact Substitute
"Drizipera" for Thessalonika?

The substitution of Thessalonika for Drizipera and the use of the date September 22, 597 cannot be proposed without explaining Theophylact's choice of Drizipera as the site for the siege. Drizipera was a lesser Roman town on the road from Constantinople to Philippopolis. It was associated with the cult of martyr Alexander whose Vita notes that the martyr was executed in Drizipera.⁶² When Theophylact wrote about the martyr's church at Drizipera he was recording accurate information that must have come from good sources.⁶³ It cannot be denied that Drizipera existed in the sixth and seventh centuries or that it was important during the wars in Theophylact from 597-602. This importance may, in fact, have caused Theophylact to associate the siege of Thessalonika with it.

Because Drizipera appears often in the later episodes of Theophylact's History, we can compare two particular instances when the Avars attacked Drizipera, the first involving a siege (in 597) and the second an Avar attack that destroyed Drizipera (in 601) without a siege (items 19 and 45 on Table 3 below). The similarities and differences

TABLE 3

Items 13 to 47, 597-601

Item	Episode	New Chronology	Others'	Theophanes'
13. Embassy of Franks from Theodorik to Maurice in Constantinople		596	Bury, 591; Goubert, 592; Labuda, post-595	A.M.6083 591
14. Avars demand increased tribute and Avaro-Roman treaty breaks down		596-597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
15. Avar attack on Simionopolis and departure after a brief siege		spring, 597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
16. Appointment of Priskos as strategos of Europe		spring, 597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
17. Avars pillage the area around Anchialus after crossing Haemus Mountains		597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
18. First destruction of the church of Alexander Martyr in Drizipera		597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
19. Siege of Drizipera; miraculous withdrawal of the Avars		597	Bury, 591	A.M.6084 592
20. Avars intercept false instructions from Maurice to Priskos in Tsouroullis		597	Bury, Dölger, 591; Hauptmann, 592	A.M.6084 592
21. Priskos' army demobilized; Priskos returns to Constantinople		fall, 597		
22. Priskos takes Roman army to Dorostolos on the Danube		spring, 598	Bury, 592; Goubert, 593; Labuda, 596	A.M.6085 593
23. Avar Koh's embassy to Priskos; Koh's speech to the Roman army		598	Bury, 592	A.M.6085 593
24. Defeat of the Slav Ardagastor by Priskos		598	Bury, 592	A.M.6085 593
25. Spoils taken from the Slavs sent to Maurice's children		598		
26. Gepid helps Priskos capture Mousokins near Paspirtos River		598	Bury, 592	A.M.6085 593
27. Tatimir brings Maurice's message ordering Priskos to winter beyond Danube		summer, 598	Bury, 592; Dölger, 592-593; Stanojević, 592	A.M.6086 fall, 593
28. Capture of the Aepic who murdered the Roman officer		598		
Item	Episode	New Chronology	Other Chronologies	Theophanes' Chronology
29. Priskos shares his spoils with the khagan; Sesostri's riddle		598	Bury, 592	A.M.6087 595
30. Peter takes command from Priskos for the first time		August, 598	Bury, Dölger, winter, 592-593; Labuda, 597	A.M.6087 August, 595
31. Peter joins festival for St. Loupos at Monae on the Danube		August, 24, 598	Bury, 593	A.M.6088 fall, 595
32. Peter defeats the Slav Petragastor		fall, 598	Bury, 593	A.M.6089 597
33. Peter's army wiped out by Slavs; Priskos replaces Peter		winter, 598-599	Bury, 597	A.M.6089 597
34. Four years after the death of Patriarch John the Faster		599	Bury, ca. 593-597	
35. A comet is interpreted as a portent of evil days to come		599		
36. Priskos returns to an army in shambles because of Peter's command		spring, 599	Bury, 597; Labuda, 598	A.M.6090 fall, 597?
37. Khagan attacks Sinsidman, which is relieved by Priskos		early summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M.6090 fall, 597?
38. Avar khagan and Priskos retire for the winter				A.M.6090 winter, 597-598
39. Khagan attacks Balawcia; Goudous follows and harasses		summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M.6091 fall, 598
40. Hiatus of eighteen months along the Danube		early summer, 599 to winter, 600	Bury, 598-599; Labuda, 598-600	
41. Monk predicts Maurice's murder; a prophecy of the emperor's nineteenth year		August, 600 to August, 601		A.M.6093 601
42. Avar siege of Tomae and Priskos' attempt to end it		winter, 600-601	Bury, winter, 599-600	A.M.6092 spring, 600
43. Easter truce at Tomae between khagan and Priskos		601	Bury, 600	March of 3rd Indiction A.M.6092 Easter, 599
44. Komentolus attacks in the rear of the Avars besieging Tomae		601	Bury, 600	A.M.6092 600
45. Avar capture of Drizipera; second destruction of the church of Alexander Martyr		601	Bury, 600	A.M.6092 600
46. Khagan's seven sons killed by plague attacking Avars in Drizipera		601	Bury, 600	A.M.6092 600
47. Harastor manages to renew treaty with bewitched Avar khagan		601	Hauptmann, 599; Bury, 599 or 600; Dölger, Labuda, 600; Lemerle, 597, 600, or 601	

between the two occasions leave the impression that the 597 siege was not an actual event, but an adaptation of information Theophylact possessed about Drizipera in 601. We conclude that Theophylact substituted Drizipera for Thessalonika in order to write a step-by-step description of an Avar invasion from Singidunum to the Haemus Mountains through Sabulente Kanalin to Anchialus, Drizipera, and the Long Walls. To explain this, we must begin with the destruction of Drizipera in 601.

The 601 attack on Drizipera is described by Theophylact as follows:

Komentiolos [the Roman general] appeared in shameful flight [from the Avar khagan] at Drizipera. When he reached the gates of the city, he demanded to be admitted and to bathe in the thermal baths. The citizens drove away this general who had avoided battle [with the Avars] with insults and stones. Komentiolos went off to the Long Walls. The barbarians, who were only a little behind the retreating Romans, arrived at Drizipera. They sacked the city and destroyed the Church of Alexander, the one glorious in martyrdom, in an all-consuming fire. They found the tomb of the martyr covered in silver and despoiled it, desecrating the body lying in the grave by throwing it aside. They were so puffed up by their victories that they glutted themselves in feasting.⁶⁴

Drizipera in 601, as described in this passage, differs from Drizipera in 597 in several significant ways. First, the city was captured without a siege in 601, whereas in 597 Drizipera resisted seven days of siege, including siege engines on the final day. In 601, the walled city refused entry to the Roman general Komentiolos. The walls did not

withstand the Avars, as in 597. Secondly, the Avars destroyed the church of the martyr Alexander in both 597 and 601. However in 601 Theophylact places the church within the city walls, while in 597 the church was destroyed when the city was not, which is to say the church was outside the city walls.⁶⁵

Thirdly, there are the contrasting details about what happened to the martyr's church during the two sieges. In 601, divine vengeance fell upon the Avars for what they did to the martyr's church. Plague killed all seven of the khagan's sons.⁶⁶ However no retribution was visited upon the Avars the first time they burned this church to the ground. Added to this is the fact that in 601 Theophylact included a great deal of information about the martyr's tomb and details about Avar behavior. There were no details in Theophylact about the tomb in 597. Moreover, the similarity between 601 and 597 is the strangest inconsistency. Each time the church was burned down in "an all-consuming fire".⁶⁷ One doubts that the church could be rebuilt given the time involved and the prevailing insecurity in Thrace. It is more likely that the church was really burned down only once, in 601, an event which an eyewitness described to Theophylact.

Fourth, Drizipera in 601 was located fairly close to the Long Walls as shown by the flight of Komentiolos, who

reached the Long Walls just as the Avars, close on his heels, reached Drizipera. In 597, on the other hand, Drizipera and the church of the martyr Alexander outside it were situated close to Anchialus some way away from Constantinople on the Black Sea. What we know about Drizipera does place it at the location indicated in 601.

It indeed does appear that Theophylact used what he knew about Drizipera in 601 to place a siege that he knew took place somewhere else in 597 at Drizipera. I suggest that the motivation for this change was not a desire to omit Thessalonika, but a need to fit this siege within the sequence of the Avar invasion which took place in that year. For Theophylact, Drizipera rather than Thessalonika seemed to be better situated along an invasion route from Singidunum to Sabulente Kanalin, a route which went past Anchialus to the Long Walls and Constantinople. This is discussed further in Appendix B.

Some Conclusions about Thessalonika

Thessalonika was besieged by the Avars on September 22, either in 586 or 597. We know this from the Miraculi Demetrii. On the other hand, Theophylact never even mentions Thessalonika. The History does mention Avar invasions, one of which took place in 586 and encourages scholars to associate the siege of Thessalonika with that early year. The next Avar invasion is dated to 597 in this dissertation

and has the same claim to consideration as 586. Moreover, the 597 invasion mentions a siege (of Drizipera) strikingly similar to the Thessalonika siege. In addition, Theophylact followed a source, John of Epiphaneia, in 586. This source did not mention Thessalonika either, one assumes. After 591 Theophylact did not have such a source so that his narrative for the 597 invasion is much more his own composition. Combined with all the other arguments Lemerle has made for the year 597 (notably, Archbishop Eusebius' 597-603 tenure), all these considerations make the siege of Thessalonika an integral part of the Avar invasion of 597. We may possess a second source that confirms in its essentials the statements in the Miraculi Demetrii about the siege of Thessalonika.

Maurice's 597 Illness and Testament

As we return to the sequence of chronological markers provided by Theophylact, we note that the Avar invasion ended soon after the siege of Thessalonika in late September. The Avars gave up a siege of Tsouroullos and went back to Pannonia as a result of Maurice's letter to Friskos (discussed above; item 20 on Table 3). It should also be pointed out that the Avars may have been willing to make peace and accept the customary tribute from the Romans because it was now mid-October. Our dating of the siege on September 22 makes the elements of the entire invasion fit together.

Maurice's illness in Theophylact is another chronological marker that characterizes 597, the year in which the Avar invasion occurred. In his fifteenth year as emperor, Maurice was so ill that he distributed different parts of the empire to his children and appointed his cousin Dometianus, Metropolitan of Melitene, regent in the event of his death.⁶⁸ At the time Maurice was fifty-eight and deathly ill.⁶⁹ His testament was discovered during the reign of Heraclius (610-641) and may not have been known about in 597. This secret document reveals that Maurice was unable to rule and was considering expedients for preserving the empire for his children.⁷⁰ Maurice had ended his period of personal command in 596 and the Avars were overrunning the empire in 597. As the fifteenth year of his reign extended from August, 596 to August 597, this year is a chronological marker that confirms the interpretation of Maurice's reign that divides Theophylact's material on Thrace after the Persian War into a Maurice-dominated 591-596 period and Maurice-less 597-602 period.

598, Bury's 592-597

The year 598 in the suggested new chronology includes items 22 through 33 on Table 3. The major point of disagreement between this new chronology and existing ones, primarily Bury's in this case, is the length of time

Maurice's brother Peter was strategos of Europe as Priskos' replacement. Bury argues for several years of Peter's command. The chronology suggested here allows for only several months. One may consult Bury for the details of events in Theophylact that are mentioned only briefly in this dissertation.⁷¹ There are unfortunately no chronological markers to simplify this discussion during this long stretch of Theophylact's narrative. Therefore our discussion becomes somewhat complicated, and it is best to keep in mind that we are attempting to show that these events took place in one calendar year, that is, in 598.

Priskos' Command in the Spring and Summer of 598

In the Spring of 598, Priskos took his army to Dorostolos on the Danube, with the intention of implementing the Scipio Africanus strategy which aimed at keeping the barbarians off balance by making attacks on Slavic and Avar settlements beyond the Danube. A peace had been signed with the Avars in the previous year and because of that treaty, the army was reluctant to cross the Danube. Priskos is given a speech by Theophylact in which he uses his eloquence to persuade the army that they could attack the Slavs without breaking the treaty with the Avars. They did attack the Slavs and amassed substantial spoils. Priskos convinced his army to send these

spoils not only to Maurice, as was customary, but also to each of Maurice's children.⁷² This practise would only have become necessary in the aftermath of Maurice's 597 last will and testament. This by itself argues for the date 598 rather than Bury's 592.

Priskos advanced farther against the Slavs, crossing two still unidentified rivers, the Helibakios and the Paspirios, and in the process capturing someone called Mousokios.⁷³ Meanwhile Tatimir, an imperial guard (scribon) took the Slav booty to Constantinople. Tatimir soon came back with orders that Priskos should ready the army to spend the winter beyond the Danube once the campaign was ended. Theophylact does not note here the passage of a winter's season, as is his normal practise for marking time. When Priskos received Maurice's orders from Tatimir, he crossed the Danube once again in compliance with Maurice's order. Bury argues that Priskos crossed the river in defiance of Maurice's order, inferring in the process that Priskos was north of the Danube when he received the order and crossed back into Thrace for the winter. This created the winter of 592-593. Bury had difficulty deciding which direction Priskos went, also whether Priskos defied or complied with Maurice's order, although at one time Bury argued that Priskos spent the winter of 592-593 beyond the Danube as ordered.⁷⁴ We believe that the context clearly suggests

that Priskos went back across the Danube, northward into Slavic territory.

The reaction of the Avar khagan to these events reflects Priskos' intention to remain north of the Danube. The khagan was maddened by Priskos' success against the Slavs. The reason, however, was not concern for his "subjects", but a desire for the spoils. Rather than break the peace with the Avars, who would have interrupted his campaign against the Slavs, Priskos agreed to split his spoils with the khagan and convinced his army that this was the necessary course of action. Priskos and the army then paused somewhere below the Danube.⁷⁵

Priskos did not stop this campaign because the year 598 was ending and winter was approaching. He stopped because Maurice replaced him with Peter, Maurice's brother. Priskos was apparently replaced because he had become too successful and independent, something we suggested earlier.⁷⁶ Priskos also met with Maurice's scorn when he returned to Constantinople because he had negotiated the return of spoils to the Avar khagan.

Peter's command began in mid-year. Bury, assuming the passage of the winter, begins Peter's command in the spring of 593. However, the only useful chronological marker (discussed below) present in Theophylact for the year 598 dates the beginning of Peter's command to late

summer of the year.

Saint Louppos' Day, August 23

Saint Louppos' Day locates the beginning of Peter's tenure as strategos of Europe in the late summer. When he was replaced, Priskos left the army at Drizipera. Peter went there to take up his new command, but instead of finding them at Drizipera, he caught up with them at Odessa where they welcomed him enthusiastically.⁷⁷ The army did not march out from Constantinople with him as at the start of a spring campaign. As soon as Peter established his authority with the army at Odessa⁷⁸ he marched off towards the Danube with his troops. After a couple of weeks he reached Novae on August 23, the eve of the festival of St. Louppos.⁷⁹ Clearly, Peter must have replaced Priskos in early to mid August within the same year, 598.

Peter's tenure as general ended in disaster. The events of the fall of 598 are explained in detail by Theophylact.⁸⁰ The next spring's assembly of the army proved Peter's failure. Priskos resumed command of an army in ruin. Appalled, Priskos considered reporting these things to Maurice, but was persuaded not to tell Maurice about Peter's apparent incompetence.⁸¹ To fill in his chronology to this point, Bury dated Priskos' return to

command in the spring of 598 five years later. According to Bury, Priskos discovered that the deterioration of the army was due to four years of mismanagement under Peter. Yet there is no evidence that Peter's command was indeed that long. He demoralised the army in the short space of time from August, 598 to the winter of 598-599.

599, Four Years After the Death of Patriarch
John the Faster

Priskos resumed his command as strategos of Europe in the spring of 599. At this point in Theophylact occurs a chronological marker of significance, one which poses difficulties for the chronological exegesis of Bury and other scholars.⁸² Theophylact's History states that "four years before" John the Faster, patriarch of Constantinople, died.⁸³ Bury and his followers have sought to undermine Theophylact's accuracy by claiming that Theophylact did not know exactly when this patriarch died and that this was just another one of Theophylact's unclear chronological references.

However Theophylact's mention of John the Faster's death is not a casual reference to unrelated events. Theophylact was writing about Maurice's behavior at this time, namely Maurice's acquisition of the patriarch's

holy rags, an attire which Maurice was accustomed to wearing on certain religious occasions.⁸⁴ The four years in question seem to be a precisely dated event in Maurice's reign, an event which marks the time Maurice began wearing these holy clothes. As we know, Maurice was ill from 597 and unable to lead his own army. Theophylact states that the emperor began to repent of his sins four years after the death of John the Faster. John the Faster died on about September 11, 595. The fall of 599 is four years exactly after that date. The chronology suggested here has reached the spring of 599 and could not be more in harmony with this chronological marker.⁸⁵ Moreover, the disastrous command of Peter and winter of 598-599 was during the fourth year since the patriarch's death. Maurice had reason to seek divine forgiveness.

599, Priskos' Second Command

In the spring of 599 Priskos, again supreme commander in Europe, marched quickly and crossed to areas beyond the Danube. Bury's chronology inserted a five year span of time (593-598) during which Peter retained his command in Thrace. There is no evidence in Theophylact for this, but it brought Bury's overall chronology to 598, a date which better suited the other information he found in

Theophylact for the next five years of Maurice's reign.⁸⁶ Making his five year leap, however, Bury still reached only 598.

Because he was above the Danube, Priskos was met and questioned by the Avar khagan. Priskos claimed that he was there because the area was good for hunting.⁸⁷ Ten days later, Priskos learned that the khagan, who was unhappy with Priskos' presence, was demolishing the walls of Singidunum in retaliation against Priskos' invasion. Priskos saved the town by coming up river by boat. His men rebuilt the walls, but this action only provoked the khagan to declare war openly for the first time since 597. With Priskos at Singidunum and in control of the Danube, the khagan turned his attention to Dalmatia, which he attacked for the first time.⁸⁸ Priskos sent Goudouis, his second-in-command, to track the Avar expedition, which would soon conquer forty fortresses in what had previously been secure Roman territory.

Priskos' rescue of Singidunum occurs just before a chronological mark that takes us from early summer 599 to fall of 600 (item 40 on Table 3). Theophylact wrote that the Romans and barbarians along the Danube did "nothing worth writing about" for more than eighteen months.⁸⁹ During this time, however, the Avars were attacking Dalmatia, which may have been the price paid for peace along the Danube.

The Decline and Fall of Maurice, 600-602

600

At this juncture in Theophylact's narrative, Bury claimed he found another chronological marker that was out of place. The text records the prediction by a crazed monk of Maurice's assassination. The monk actually ran from the Forum to the Chalke Gate, shouting the prophecy. Theophylact reports that this happened in the 19th year of Maurice's reign,⁹⁰ which extends from August 600 to August 601. This coincides well with our own chronological calculations, which place the prophecy in the fall of 600. Bury's chronology, however, is still one year behind, in the fall of 599.⁹¹ It is more likely that Theophylact's narrative, despite difficulties, retained a correct chronological sequence of events.

Next, Theophylact wrote of an Avar invasion of Lower Moesia that was "also in this year",⁹² obviously referring to the fall of 600. Soon thereafter, a Roman army under Priskos was besieged at Tomae during the winter⁹³ with his troops on the brink of starvation. The passage of this winter marks the end of the year 600.

It is not clear where Priskos had been during the eighteen months when "nothing worth writing about" was happening above the Danube. He started out at Singidunum

and ended up at Tomae on the Black Sea coast. Did he spend the preceding winter of 599-600 above the Danube? Was there really "nothing worth writing about," or is this phrase mostly at reflection of Theophylact's ignorance?

601

In the spring of 601, when the Avars and Romans declared a truce at Eastertide and fraternized with one another around Tomae, Komentiolos marched a second army against the Avars.⁹⁴ He marched towards the Danube, to a position behind the Avars besieging Tomae. When the Avar khagan heard that Komentiolos was on the march, he lifted the siege of Tomae and marched westward from Tomae towards the Danube, coming into contact with the Romans under Komentiolos near Iatros. Komentiolos had no intention of meeting the Avars in a pitched battle. His purpose was only to cause the Avars to lift the siege at Tomae for fear that the Romans were marching against the heartland of Avaria. It was the Scipio Africanus strategy again at work for the Romans, except this time (unlike 597) employing an entire army.

Theophylact strongly suggests that Komentiolos betrayed the men under his command by avoiding a battle that the Avars tried to force on the Romans in Lower Moesia. It was

during his flight from this battle that Komentiolos was refused sanctuary in Drizipera because of his shameful leadership of this brief expedition.⁹⁵ Despite everything, the siege of Tomae was lifted, the Roman army in Tomae was preserved and thus Komentiolos in effect succeeded in his mission.

As was discussed in the context of the earlier comparison of Drizipera in 597 and 601, the Avars were close behind Komentiolos, but paused to attack Drizipera as Komentiolos reached the sanctuary offered by the Long Walls of Constantinople. Plague struck the khagan's sons and his bereavement made him more willing to negotiate a peace.⁹⁶ Harmatos travelled to Drizipera loaded down with gifts for the Avars and obtained yet another revival of the moribund Avaro-Roman peace treaty. The threat to Byzantium was so great at this time that residents of the capital panicked and thought of moving the capital to Chalcedon across the Bosphoros.⁹⁷

The treaty that was negotiated is a classic statement of the Avaro-Roman relationship. Both agreed to the Ister as the boundary between them, the Avars acknowledging the Roman right to cross the river in pursuit of marauding Slavs. This was in exchange for an increase of twenty thousand nomismata in the tribute paid to the Avars.⁹⁸

After the Avars withdrew, the Thracian-based Roman army

sent a delegation to Maurice to complain of Komentiolos' cowardice. Because the city needed a scapegoat and a show trial, Maurice gave the delegation a hearing, but he took no action against Komentiolos. Instead he sent him off immediately on another mission. This episode could suggest that Komentiolos' alleged cowardice may have been due to Maurice's own orders to avoid hostilities. Maurice's clemency, however, could also be interpreted as Maurice's disbelief in the charges.

Soon thereafter, in the summer of 601, Komentiolos was sent to Singidunum to join up with Priskos. He carried orders to the effect that the two generals were to persuade the army to break the peace treaty with the Avars.⁹⁹ Harmatos had just negotiated a treaty, but Maurice needed to restore confidence in his regime by a successful campaign. He also intended to bring about the death of Priskos, it appears. Komentiolos, when it was time to cross from Biminakion into hostile territory, "wounded himself" in order to be hors de combat, so that Priskos was forced to undertake the dangerous mission alone.¹⁰⁰ Priskos was the obvious choice of the army to replace Maurice, whose policies in Thrace and Illyricum worked against their soldierly interests.¹⁰¹

Priskos crossed the Danube without Komentiolos, but, contrary to expectations, achieved three great victories

and showed up at Tomae with a great horde of prisoners of war. Indicative of Maurice's surprise at Priskos' survival is the fact that Maurice had agreed to the return of all of Priskos' prisoners to the Avar khagan before Priskos resurfaced at Tomae. This, along with Komentiolos' behavior, outraged the army. In the meantime, Komentiolos got lost trying to get back to Constantinople and did not return until the spring of 602. He spent the winter in Philippopolis.

At this point there is another chronological marker in Theophylact's narrative:

Nothing was accomplished by the Romans or the barbarians in the nineteenth year of the reign of Maurice the autocrat. And in the twentieth year the autocrat Maurice made his own brother Peter the strategos at the head of Europe. Before this year, Theodosius, son of the emperor, had his nuptials, and his father gave to him in lawful wedlock the daughter of Germanos, an illustrious fellow, brilliant in the deliberations of the Senate.¹⁰²

Komentiolos returned to Constantinople from his Danubian mission by way of Philippopolis in the spring of 602. The 20th year of the reign of Maurice extends from August, 601 until August, 602. This chronological marker, based on a system of dating by regnal years, coincides with the arrival of Komentiolos at Constantinople in the spring of 602, a date arrived at on the basis of Theophylact's seasonal record of military campaigns. The appointment of Peter, Maurice's brother, as supreme head of the army in Thrace, exactly coincides with the spring of 602. Priskos was replaced

once again by Peter in the spring despite his great victories beyond the Danube.

The other events mentioned in the chronological marker did occur before this spring. However, in this case, other sources provide a means to check Theophylact's chronological meaning. The Paschal Chronicle gives the quite precise date of February 9-15 during the 5th Indiction for Theodosius' marriage.¹⁰³ Theophanes places this event in November of the Fifth Indiction,¹⁰⁴ which runs from September, 601 to September, 602. This means that Theodosius could not have been married "before this year", if the year intended is the regnal year of Maurice that begins in August. That is to say, Theodosius was not wed before August of 601.

The year referred to must be the new campaign year beginning in the spring of 602 with the appointment of Peter as magister militum. The key piece of information that Theophylact presents here is the replacement of Priskos with Peter. It was necessary for him to merge a chronological marker based on regnal years with his own history, dated according to seasons, so that he quite naturally (if sometimes incorrectly) merged regnal years with his campaign seasons. In other words, Theophylact considered the 20th year of Maurice to begin in the spring of 602 even though it technically began months earlier.

Thus, Theodosius was married to Germanos' daughter just before Peter resumed his hapless tenure as the strategos of Europe, so that Theophylact does agree with other sources on the date of Theodosius' marriage.

Bury raises the further objection that Theophylact also states that "nothing was accomplished by the Romans or barbarians in the 19th year of Maurice's reign". Bury claims that Theophylact's history, because of this statement, had not at this point reached the twentieth year of Maurice's reign.¹⁰⁵ So many events had occurred in the previous year (e.g. the Avar sack of Drizipera and Priskos' campaign into the areas north of the Danube), that it could not be the 19th year, and thus Theophylact's history could not have reached the spring of 602.

Bury's objection must be rejected for two reasons. First, the chronological marker based on regnal years clearly comes from one of a variety of sources used by Theophylact, and it was that source which stated that nothing was accomplished in the 19th year. Significant military events might in fact have occurred. However Theophylact's source stated otherwise and Theophylact simply followed his source in this case. Secondly, this source (using regnal years) may have sought to provide a justification for Peter's appointment as general. If nothing was accomplished in the 19th year, it would justify

a new strategos, Peter being appointed for the twentieth.

602

The events of Maurice's 20th year must all be part of Maurice's final year, 602, on the throne, which began in January, 602 and ended with his overthrow and murder by Phocas in November of 602. The year started with a chronological marker, an incident on February 2, in which Maurice was stoned during a barefoot religious procession. It was a severe winter which resulted in a shortage of food. Germanos, the Senator, saved the life of Theodosius, Maurice's son, who was soon to marry Germanos' daughter on February 9-15. The two events are related. A few months later Germanos tried to gain the throne for his son-in-law Theodosius, just before Germanos would reach for it himself in November.¹⁰⁶ These events bunch together in 602 and give the overthrow of Maurice an appropriately hectic pace.

The last events in the Avar War (when Peter was the supreme general, and before the army proclaimed the usurper Phocas¹⁰⁷) show that Theophylact's narrative is not as desultory as most scholars think. It is in fact tightly written. Peter (apparently) commanded two separate military theaters during what Bury regards as the last two years of Maurice's reign (601-602).¹⁰⁸ Peter's first act was in effect

to cede an area called the Kataracts to the Avars.¹⁰⁹ Peter, in Dardania at the beginning of the fall, heard the Avars were occupying or taking control of the Kataracts. However, he refused to break the peace over this, and instead returned to Thrace while the Avar khagan retired to Constantiola (Maissos?). Bury dates this series of events to 601. Why did Peter not oppose the Avars?

The second theater of operations (see Appendix B; Bury dates this to 602) may provide the answer. This theater is introduced by Theophylact when Maurice, in the middle of the summer,¹¹⁰ claimed that he heard that the khagan would respect the peace and stop warring only, according to Maurice, "in order to be able to act against those around Byzantium as soon as they are demobilized".¹¹¹ This is obviously Maurice's interpretation of the Avar peace offer. Did Maurice malign the offer so as to create an excuse for the continuation of the war and to keep his army mobilized?

Acting on Maurice's commands, Peter sent Goudouis across the Danube in boats brought from Constantinople by Bonosos. Goudouis won some victories, collected some booty, and struggled to prevent his men from returning back across the Danube with their spoils. The khagan retaliated by sending his general Apsich to destroy the Antes, a tribe of Slavs who were allied with the Romans.¹¹²

The Roman strategy was to maintain an army across the Danube until the enemy could be worn down. However the chief victories on both sides appear to have been against Slavic clients.

This strategy and its wider implications explain why Peter's two spheres of activity occurred in one, rather than two, years. After the first confrontation with the Avars over the Kataracts, Peter returned to Thrace. If he returned there for the winter, as Bury contends¹¹³, Peter was acting against Maurice's strategic plans. However, there is no suggestion that Maurice was upset with his brother for refusing to order his troops to spend the winter of 601-602 beyond the Danube. Peter actually returned to Thrace to join up with Bonosos, who was to provide boats for crossing the Danube. These events took place late in 602, as part of a plan to live off the Slav harvest and to defend the Roman one. After the success of this expedition, Peter was under orders to spend the winter of 602-603 among the Slavs in the north. The attempt to force the army to accept once again this location for winter quarters is what brought about the army rebellion and the overthrow of Maurice in November, 602.

It seems likely, therefore, that Peter had been unwilling to confront the Avar khagan during the summer around the Kataracts precisely because the Romans had this

major expedition beyond the Danube in mind. These two campaigns are actually two parts of one plan undertaken in 602. To adopt this timing for Peter's second tenure as strategos is to restore completely to the year 602, the year of Maurice's decline and fall, all the campaigns and all the incidents that took place during this dramatic year.

This first chapter has been a survey of the chronological information available to readers of Theophylact's History. It offers a consistent new chronology that makes the most of the available chronological markers. The second chapter examines how Theophanes used these chronological signposts.

Conclusion

The chronology we have proposed in this chapter has several advantages over existing scholarly reconstructions of Theophylact's chronology. First and foremost, the sequence of events given by Theophylact is exactly preserved. The chronological markers offered by Theophylact are used to confirm his general accuracy rather than to fault Theophylact for digressing and obscuring the narrative. An important conclusion of this chapter is that Theophylact indeed took pains to maintain the precise sequence of events in his history.

The second advantage of our chronology is that it provides a place for the siege of Thessalonika in another historical source. Hitherto, the siege has been known only from the Miraculi Demetrii, a work of hagiography. Historians rely heavily on the Miraculi so that any additional confirmation of their accuracy increases the value of that source.

Finally, this revised chronology clarifies the reign of Maurice. One observes that Maurice enjoyed fifteen years of leadership, including the conquest of Persia and recovery of Armenia along with an attempt to restore Roman security to Thrace. His personal efforts lasted until 596, when he returned to Constantinople. At that

time, at fifty-eight years of age, he became deathly ill and the glorious years of his reign ended. On his death bed, Maurice became morbidly concerned about the fate of the empire after his death. Meanwhile the army grew restless and dissatisfied, as did the populace of Constantinople. The Avars took the opportunity to invade the empire, first in 597 and again in 601. Maurice did not trust his most successful general Priskos, and the general whom he did trust, his brother Peter, was capable only of short, disastrous periods of command. It was these years of decline for which Theophylact was able to obtain eye-witness accounts. It was Maurice's fate not to have died at the height of his powers. His Roman posterity after Theophylact tended to focus more on the manner of his decline and death than on his fifteen years of achievement. Theophanes preserves these traditions about Maurice as we will discuss in succeeding chapters.

Footnotes to Chapter I

¹Theophylact, 308.15-19, mentions Heraclius' campaign against Razates, a Persian general ca. 622.

²Photii Bibliotheca, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1959), I, 98 gives the title of Theophylact's History as Θεοφυλάκτου τῷ ἐπάρχῳ καὶ ἀντιγραφῶσι οἰκουμένης ἱστορίας.

³Theophylact, 310.26.

⁴Karl Krumbacher, Geschichte der Byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum ende des Oströmischen Reiches (527-1453) (1st ed.; Munich, 1891), 55.

⁵John of Epiphaneia, History, introduction and part of first book in HGM, I, 375-382. Consult Krumbacher, 56-57 on Theophylact and Krumbacher, 53 on their relationship, e.g. "Die einfache und klare Sprache des Johannes, der offenbar den Spuren des Thukydides folgte, ist freilich bei Theophylaktos nicht wieder zu erkennen". Cf. G. Moravcsik, Byzantinoturcica (Budapest, 1942), 174-175 and 343.

⁶Theophylact, I,3,5. τὸ δ' ὅπως Μενάνδρῳ τῷ περιφανεῖ σαφὲς συνόρεται. Theophylact may have relied on Menander for events of the reigns of Justin II and Tiberius up to the year 582.

⁷Evagrius Scholasticus, Ecclesiastical History, ed., J. Bidez and L. Parmentier (reissue; Amsterdam, 1964); tr. Festugière, B 45 (1975). P. Peeters, "Les ex-votos de Khosrau Aparwiz à Sergiopolis", AB 65(1947), 49 sq. finds Evagrius the best primary source for the reign of Maurice to 593 and leaves open the possibility that Theophylact drew from Evagrius.

⁸Theophylact, 20.

⁹Peeters, "Les ex-votos...", 5-56. The author finds reason to doubt the authenticity of Theophylact's quotation of Chosroes' letter to Maurice as well. Evagrius called the letter a ἱκετεία, a description that does not fit Theophylact's version, Peeters, "Les ex-votos...", 11.

¹⁰Dometianos, Metropolitan of Melitene and close relative of the emperor Maurice was involved, it is claimed, in serious effort to convert the Persian king Chosroes II to Christianity: Cf. Evagrius, 234.20; Theophylact, 179.7; and Theophanes, 266.14. Moreover, Theophylact was clearly partial to Dometianos to whom he gave the longest speech in the History rather than to Gregory, Patriarch of Antioch. This general situation provoked Theophylact's response. Cf. Ernest Honigsmann, "Two Metropolitans, Relatives of the Emperor Maurice:

Dometianus of Melitene (about 580 - January 12, 602) and Athenogenes of Petra", Studi e Testa 173(1953), 219 and R. Paret, "Dometianus de Melitene et la politique religieuse de Maurice", REB 5(1957), 45-48.

¹¹Moravcsik, 343.

¹²Our major concern is the chronology of the period after Maurice's Persian War (after 591). The chronology of the earlier period can be followed in P. Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam: 1. Byzance et l'Orient sous les successeurs de Justinien (Paris, 1951). Cf. Martin J. Higgins, The Persian Wars of the Emperor Maurice, 582-602 (Washington, D.C., 1939), especially 71-73; also the author's "International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century", CHR 27(1941), 279-315

¹³N.H. Baynes, "The Literary Construction of the History of Theophylact Simocatta", ΣΕΥΛΑ, Hommage internationale à l'Université de Grèce (Athens, 1912), 35.

¹⁴J.B. Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylact Simocatta", EHR 3(1888), 315.

¹⁵Goubert, Byzance avant l'Islam: Byzance et l'Occident sous les successeurs de Justinien: Part 1, Byzance et les Francs (Paris, 1956), 90.

¹⁶Bury, HLRE, II and "The Chronology of Theophylact Simocatta"; Dölger, Regesten; E. Hauptmann, "Les rapports des byzantins avec les Slaves et les Avars pendant la seconde moitié du sixième siècle", B 4(1927-1928), 160-168; G. Labuda, "Chronologie des guerres de Byzance contre les Avars et les Slavs à la fin du VI siècle", Byzantinoslavica 11(1950), 167ff.; Goubert's third part to his second volume, "Les Peuples du Danube" unfortunately did not appear. His chronology was not systematically worked out, although its broad outlines are known. Cf. Paul Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au huitième siècle," Revue historique (1954), 291, aptly summarizes the situation in the following way: "La succession et la chronologie des événements sont difficile à établir du fait de certains imprécisions ou erreurs de notre source principale, Theophylacte, dont Theophanes est tributaire".

¹⁷Lemerle, "Invasions...", 291-292.

¹⁸Evagrius finished writing in the twelfth year of Maurice (August, 593 to August, 594). Since the patriarch John the Faster is mentioned as though still living, we can be sure Evagrius was no longer involved with his history by September 11, 595, the date

of John the Faster's death.

¹⁹Theophylact, 308.13-19, διὰ γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τὴν πίστιν τὴν συνέχειαν τῶν παρηκολουθηκότων μικρὸν ὑποκλίσμεν. σπηνίκα πρὸς τὸν βασιλῆα τὸν πόλεμον ἐποιοῦσιν ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ Ἡρακλεῖος, ἐξέτασιν τοῦ ὀπλιτικοῦ ἀνακρίνας δύο καὶ μόνους στρατιώτας τῆς φιλοτυράννου πληθὺς μεσολαβησάντων τῶν χρόνων. The passage goes on to conclude that "eventually other forces were armed after the evil was destroyed and good fortune changed for the worse for the Persians and the Babylonian dragon, the son of Hormisdas, Chosroes, was killed and the Persian War ended", Theophylact, 308.19-22. Theophylact was still writing in 629.

²⁰Theophanes, 303ff.

²¹Bury, II, 124-125 and Goubert, I, 24; II, Part 1, 90.

²²Menander, EL, 208-210 in 578 and Theophylact, 51-52 in 584.

²³Theophylact, 221.

²⁴Ibid., 44-55 and Evagrius, 228.21-26.

²⁵Ibid., τούτων ὡς χερσὺν οἱ ἄβαρος δις μέχρι τοῦ καλουμένου μακροῦ τεύχους διελάσαντες, Σιγγιδίονα, Ἀρχιλαόν τε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πῶσαν καὶ ἑτέρας πόλεις τε καὶ φρούρια ἐξεπολιόρησαν καὶ ἡνδραποδίσαντο πάντα καὶ πυρπολοῦντες τῶν πολλῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἐβαν ἐνδιατριβόντων.

²⁶See footnote 18 supra.

²⁷Evagrius, VI, 24; 240.

²⁸Theophylact, 218 and Theophanes, 267.33-34 for the transfer of the army to Thrace.

²⁹Menander, EL, 208-210, indicates an official instance of such cooperation to control the Slavs.

³⁰Theophylact, 218.

³¹Ibid., 219.5-9.

³²Ibid., 220.3-16.

³³Ibid., 222.8, δεῖ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπὶ τοῖς παρούσι προταραττομένου.

³⁴Ibid., 222.5-223.9. This story is completed by Theophylact a year or so later in his narrative, Ibid., 239.16-242.2. The identity of this Roman officer and the importance of the Gaepid murderer is discussed in Appendix A to this dissertation.

³⁵Theophylact, 224.22-23, *Θηρογύσιον*. It is a river very close to the fortress of Tsouroullous, as is later indicated by Anna Comnena in the eleventh century, *Alexiad*, VII,2,1, *οἱ δὲ Σκύθαι ἐπίοντες καὶ οὗτοι κατὰ τῆς Τσουρουλλοῦ, ἐπειδὴ προκαταλαβεῖν τὸν αὐτοκράτορα ταύτην ἤλπιοντο*. *διὰ βεβηκότες τὸν ἀπὸ τῆν πεδιάδα ῥέοντα ποταμὸν ἀγχοῦ τοῦτοῦ πολυχνίου (Θηρογύσιον τοῦτον ἔγχωριος κατονομαζέουσι) τὸν χάρακα ἐπέβησαν μετὰ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοῦ πολυχνίου*. It is thought that this river flowed into the Sea of Marmora close to Peirinthos/Heraclaea.

³⁶Theophylact, 66.12-26.

³⁷*Ibid.*, 229-230 and especially 230.15-22. Maurice's *Στρατηγικόν*, if it is even partly his composition, adds an important element to this strategy. It suggests invading Slav lands in the winter when the trees are bare. This coincides as well with the increased use of cavalry and the introduction of the stirrup. Cf. A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, I, 602-634, tr. M. Ogilvie-Grant (Amsterdam, 1968), 29-30. Moravcsik, 251, offers the arguments for accepting the *Στρατηγικόν* as a work of Maurice's reign: a special interest in the Avars and no mention in the work of the themes system. But see the objections of Lynn S. White, *Medieval Technology and Social Change* (Oxford, 1962), 27 and notes on 144 for the other scholars who date this work later because of its mention of stirrups.

³⁸Hauptmann, "Les rapports des Byzantins...", 160-161.

³⁹Theophylact, 226.24-25.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, 19-21.

⁴¹This is only an hypothesis based on the analogy of the Exarchates of Ravenna and Carthage set up by Maurice (see Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*; 2. *Byzance et l'Occident sous les successeurs de Justinien*; Part 2, Rome, *Byzance et Carthage* (Paris, 1965) and Charles Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'Exarchat de Ravenne* (Paris, 1888)). A strategos was set up at Singidunum in 626: *DAI* 32.19-20 and *Chronicon Paschale* (I, 726.7-10). Could this have been Priskos' home base during the last four years of Maurice's reign? Cf. Stratos, *III*, 642-668, tr. Harry T. Hionides (Amsterdam, 1975), 179.

⁴²Theophylact, 246; Bury, II, 131; and M.J. Higgins, "Note on the Emperor Maurice's Military Administration", in *Mélanges P. Peeters*, I (Brussels, 1949), 445-446, which is *AB* 67(1949).

⁴³Strabo, 7.3.13.

⁴⁴Priskos, ed. Bonn, 172.11-13, *διανυκτερεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκῶν τῆς Ναισσοῦ τὴν πορείαν ποιήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν, ἔστι χωρίον ἐσθλάμενον συνηρεφές, καμπὸς δὲ καὶ ἐλιγμῖος καὶ περιαγωγὰ πολλὰς ἔχον*. Also, fragment 1b in *HGM*, I refers to Naissos on the Danoubas. Priskos was an eye-witness to these statements he makes, as he was on an embassy to negotiate with Attila the Hun, ca. 450.

⁴⁵The loss of Sirmium in 579 (officially recognized in 581 by Tiberius) to the Avars was a turning point (Cf. Hauptmann, "Les rapports des byzantins...", 158) in Illyricum. Its capture was achieved by means of a bridge the Romans had allowed the Avars to build. From this time on the Avars could immediately cross. Slav boats were used from 579 to the Avar invasion of 597 and the famous siege of Constantinople in 626.

⁴⁶Theophylact, 226-229.

⁴⁷Goubert, II, Part 1, 90, in discussing the larger context of Roman relations with the Franks, regards the embassy to be the "Easterner" Theophylact's mistake.

⁴⁸Labuda, 170-171. Hauptmann, "Les rapports des byzantins...", 167, note 6, rejects it, as does Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, tr. Jean Hussey (2nd ed.; New Brunswick, N.J., 1957), 75, note 2.

⁴⁹Opera Gregorii Turonensis, ed. Arndt and Krusch, Ecclesiastical History, IV, 29.

⁵⁰Theophylact, 225.12-16.

⁵¹Ibid., 225.23-25, ὁ δὲ χαγάνος ἐπειθήκασα λαμβάνειν τὸς συνθήκας ἐξήτει τὸν καίσαρα. Ἐπει δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τοῖς λόγοις τοῦ βαρβάρου ὧτως οὐκ ἐδίδου βαλβεῖα, ἀντελθὼν παρεαὐτίκα τὸν πόλεμον.

⁵²Ibid., 227-228.

⁵³Paul Lemerle, Les plus anciens recueils des miracles de Saint Demetrius et la pénétration des Slaves dans les Balkans (Paris, 1979), 134, κυριακή γὰρ ἡμέρα μνησθέντων τούτων, τῇ εἰκάδι δευτέρᾳ τοῦ σκιπτεμβρίου μηνός.

⁵⁴Lemerle, "Invasions...", 294, note 2.

⁵⁵Theophylact, 228.9, ἔς τὸ καρτερόν παρετάπτοντο, τὰς ἐλεπόλειος ἑβδομῆς ἡμέρας ὁ βαρβαρος ἔτεκταίνετο.

⁵⁶The entire episode (Theophylact, 227.24-228.25) translates:

Five days later at the first hour of the morning he (the khagan) began the crossing and ferried himself over the rough spots of the fords. Then, he appeared after three days at the so-called Sabulente Kanalin. Then he came upon Anchialus.

He left there, finding himself near the church of the martyr Alexander. He senselessly gave it to an all-consuming fire and when he advances three miles (σημεῖα) further, he happened

upon men sent as scouts by the Roman general. And the barbarian used torture to find out what was the plan of those he captured while equivocating to them the cause of his invasion. He was vexed that he was unable to learn the unvarnished truth, for, they warded him off with counterfeit explanations.

After five days he broke camp towards Drizipera and applied his hand to somehow taking the city. But when the inhabitants of the city resisted stubbornly, he brought up siege engines on the seventh day. Then, a sudden dread fell upon the city, and when hopes for their salvation seemed vain, they charged forward with a fraudulent bravery; for, they threw the gates open expecting to meet the attack of the barbarians on an equal footing, to take the war to the enemy. Beforehand, they made a great show, but were struck with cowardice and failed to leave the city. Yet, the barbarian was prevented from advancing by the intervention of God (θεία ἰσχύϊ). For, the barbarian thought that he saw at mid-day countless Roman phalanxes arrayed, coming from the city hurrying across the plain, mad for war and with death in their demeanor. The khagan immediately embraced retreat. Appearance was his opponent, the fallibility of sight and the amazement of thought. And five days later the khagan was at Peirinthos (the Romans call that city Heraclea).

⁵⁷Drizipera, for example, is merely listed among countless other Roman towns restored by Justinian in Procopius, *De aedificiis in Opera Procopii*, ed. J. Haury and G. Wirth (Leipzig, 1962). The important towns are described by Procopius in detail.

⁵⁸F. Barišić, *Čuda Dimitrija Solunskog kao istoriski izvor* (Belgrade, 1954) and Lemerle, "La composition et la chronologie des deux premiers livres des *Miracula S. Demetrii*", *BZ* 46(1953), 349-361.

⁵⁹Theophylact, 228.10-12 and Lemerle, "Les plus anciens recueils", 150.27-30, εὐδὺς γὰρ τὸ νεκρωμένων ὄντων καὶ ψυχῶν καὶ σώματι ἀπαντῶν ἐν τῶν ζωνμένων δεινὴν καὶ προσδοκίμενὴν χειρόνυν ἀπροσδοκήτως ἀναθάρσυναι περὶ τὴν τρίτην ἡμέραν τῆς πολιορκίας.... God could resuscitate the dead so he could do the same for the spirits of the Thessalonians.

⁶⁰Lemerle, "Les plus anciens recueils...", 157.3-8.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, 157.8ff. and Theophylact, 228.23-24.

⁶²Drizipera, thermal baths, and the martyr Alexander are closely linked in the Greek *passio* taken from Parisinus Graecus 1534 in "Le voyage de St. Alexandre de Rome à travers la Thrace", ed. D.

Dimitrov, Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare 8(1934), 143-159; on the incidents at Drizipera, 157.7, 158.32, and 158.34. The text reads Δουζιπερα. This is assumed by the editor to be the "Drousipara" cited in G.L.F. Tafel, *De via militarii Romanorum Egnatia qua Illyricum, Macedonia, et Thracia iungebantur* (Tübingen, 1841-1842), III, 22. The mention of baths at Drizipera in this saint's life should be noted as no baths are mentioned during Theophylact's description of the 597 siege of Drizipera. However, when Komentios fled to Drizipera in 601, he specifically asked to use the thermal baths there (Theophylact, 270.21).

⁶³This is the kind of information the two soldiers found in 622 could have provided. *Supra*, chap. i, p. 19.

⁶⁴Theophylact, 270.19-271.4.

⁶⁵*Ibid.*, for the clear implication that the church was within the walls. The *Passio* of the martyr Alexander (Dimitrov, 157-158) and the synaxarist (*Synaxarium*, 680.15-682.7 for May 13 and 488.35-489.12 for February 25) indicate that Alexander was killed within Drizipera so that one would expect the church of the martyr to be inside as well.

⁶⁶Theophylact, 271.5-21.

⁶⁷Theophylact, 227.29, ἐδίδου τούτον τῷ πατριάρχῃ πρὶν 270.27, τῷ πατριάρχῃ πρὶν κατηνύλασαν.

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, 306.3-13.

⁶⁹*Ibid.* That Maurice truly was sick on one occasion during his reign is confirmed by the synaxarist (*Synaxarium*, 682.21-684.6). Pausikakos, a healing saint, brought Maurice back from a severe illness. This "miracle" may have been part of Pausikakos' canonization record. We can be sure that the restoration of health to Maurice was considered one of his most important deeds by his contemporaries. It is the only cure by Pausikakos that survives in our records.

⁷⁰The matter of Maurice's children became important from this point on. In 602, when the populace was in the midst of a food shortage the winter before Maurice was overthrown, the crowd taunted Maurice for having too many children (Theophanes, 283.19-20 and the fragment contemporary with the event in John of Antioch, *FHG*, 218d). In 598, spoils of war were parcelled out by the army not only to the emperor, but also to his children, an offense to the army and perhaps to the city as well (Theophylact, 233.3-9).

⁷¹Bury, II, 115-144. This is chapter four, "Slaves and Avars in Illyricum and Thrace". Bury, II, 128-130 has 592 for Peter's appointment.

⁷²Theophylact, 233.3-9.

⁷³Ibid., 236-238. See Appendix A for an analysis of the possible identity of Mouskios. A suggested conclusion is that Mouskios was actually the Armenian Moushegh Mamikonien (Cf. Goubert, I, 191-197).

⁷⁴Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylaktos Simokatta", 311. Cf. Bury, II, 130.

⁷⁵Theophylact, 245.10-11.

⁷⁶Supra, pp. 33 and 34.

⁷⁷Theophylact, 246.6.

⁷⁸Ibid., 246-247.

⁷⁹AASS Augusti, IV, 592-594 (August 23). This Louppos was bishop of Sirmium. It appears that the mention of this feast day for Louppos arises from the special importance this saint had may have had for the soldiers of the Danubian region. These are the men who were reporting the events of Peter's campaign to Theophylact.

The cult of Louppos was directly related to St. Demetrius'. We have been struck by the absence of Demetrius and the siege of Thessalonika in Theophylact, but the mention of Louppos shows that at least Theophylact's eye-witnesses were interested in Demetrius as well. John, the seventh century bishop of Thessalonika who wrote the early portions of the *Miraculi Demetrii* gave Louppos a key role in starting the series of miracles associated with Demetrius. Louppos preserved the saint's blood in his kerchief, dipped Demetrius' imperial ring in the blood and healed the sick with it. This kerchief and the imperial ring associated with it were taken to Sirmium years later by the prefect (eparch) of Illyricum (cf. Lemerle, "Les plus anciens recueils...").

Sirmium was initially the home of the prefect of Illyricum (Lemerle, "Invasions...", 267). Interestingly, Demetrius' first miracle (a miracle accomplished by his relics) was the calming of the Danube in the dead of winter so that the prefect could cross and deposit the sacred relics in Sirmium. This may have taken place during the reign of Justinian when that emperor sought to return the capital of the prefecture northward to Sirmium (Justinian's Novel XI, April 14, 535; cited by Lemerle, "Invasions...", 267). Sirmium and Louppos were, one may assume, important to all the Danubian towns. The loss of Sirmium to the Avars in 579-581 harmed the empire's defenses and also exiled the martyr Louppos.

It is natural that a bishop of Sirmium would be called Louppos after Demetrius' servant. Perhaps the first bishop of Sirmium was thought to be Louppos himself?

⁸⁰Ibid., 247-254.

⁸¹Ibid., 254.19-20 and 256.6-12.

⁸²Bury, II, 134, "At this point the narrative of the historian who has preserved the memory of these events suddenly transports us, without a word of notice, into a totally different region- into the country beyond the Danube, where Priskos had operated successfully in 592. And he transports us not only to a different place, but to a different time; for, having recorded the ill-success of Peter and his deposition from the command, he makes it appear, by a chronological remark, that these events took place at the end, not of 593, but of 597."

⁸³Theophylact, 254.21-255.12.

⁸⁴Ibid.

⁸⁵A comet mentioned in Theophylact (Theophylact, 2⁵⁵.25-256.5) just before Priskos left Constantinople also dates his return to command to the year 599. There was a comet visible in Syria where Theophylact was writing his History in 599 (Grumel, Chronologie, 470).

⁸⁶Bury, II, 134.

⁸⁷Theophylact, 256.15-25.

⁸⁸Ibid., 265.3-9. The Avars attacked the "Ionian Gulf" and Dalmatia, including forty forts. The importance of this datum is discussed by Peter Charanis, "The Slavs, Byzantium, and the Historical Significance of the First Bulgarian Kingdom", BS 17(1976), 5. Maria Nystazopoulos-Pelekidou, "Συμβολή εἰς τὴν Χρονολόγησιν τῶν Ἀβασικῶν καὶ Σλαβικῶν ἐπιδρομῶν ἐπὶ Μαυρικίου (582-602)", Σύμμεικτα 2(1970), 170-171, dated this invasion of Dalmatia between the fall of 595 and summer of 597 so that it became the invasion that preceded the siege of Thessalonika on September 22, 597. The connection between Dalmatia and Thessalonika is not clear in this context. Hauptmann, "Les rapports des byzantins...", 176, dated the invasion of Dalmatia somewhere in the 596-599 period.

The summer of 599 is a date supported by the letters of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604). Illyricum as a whole was still his concern, and Dalmatia especially so. A May, 599 letter to the Metropolitans of Thessalonika, Corinth, Durrachium, Nicopolis, Crete and Larissa makes no reference to Avar or barbarian invasions (PL 77, Book 9, Indiction 2, Letter 68; cf. Stratos, III, 174). On the other hand, a letter to Bishop Maximus of Thessalonika of 600 (Third Indiction) notes that Slavs were overrunning Istria and were virtually in Italy (PL 77, Book 10, Indiction 2, Letter 36; cf. Bury, II, 139).

⁸⁹Theophylact, 266.10-13, ἐπὶ μῆνας τοιγαροῦν ὀκτακάδεκα, καὶ περαιτέρω Ῥωμαῖοις τε καὶ βαρβάροις τοῖς ἀνὰ τὸν Ἰστρον αὐλισκομένοις οὐδὲν ἀξιον συγγραφῆς διατεπερρεται.

⁹⁰Ibid., 266.14-26.

⁹¹Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylakt Simokatta", 314.

⁹²Theophylact, 267.1, καὶ γούν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ.

⁹³*Ibid.*, 267-268. The Avars supplied the Romans food at eastertime in exchange for gifts and spices. Priskos was clearly on grudging good terms with the khagan.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 268.10-16.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*, 268-270 and *Supra*, chap. i, p. 48.

⁹⁶*Ibid.*, 272.

⁹⁷*Ibid.*, 271.22-29.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, 273.7-11, διημολογείται δὲ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ Ἀβάροις ὁ Ἰστρος μεσίτης, κατὰ δὲ Σκλαβηνῶν ἐξουσία τὸν ποταμὸν δια-
νῆξασθαι. ἐπεντίθενται δὲ καὶ ὅλαι εἰκοσι χιλιάδες χρυσῶν ταῖς
σιπονδαῖς. Lemerle, "Invasions...", 292, footnote 1, makes the
important observation that this treaty may have, in part, been
directed against the Slavs. The Slavs and Avars were not,
accordingly, monolithic allies. This treaty was not, it seems
to us, a radically new departure, but a restoration of 579 or
586.

⁹⁹Theophylact, 284.20-285.

¹⁰⁰*Ibid.*, Komentiolos was apparently bled by his doctors.

¹⁰¹Later Priskos became Phocas' brother-in-law and his Count
of the Excubitors (Theophanes, 294.11-25 in A.M. 6099 or 607 and
John of Antioch, FHG, 218e). This suggests that Priskos was
next-in-line for the throne. Moreover, Heraclius offered Priskos
the throne in 610 (Nicephorus, 9).

¹⁰²Theophylact, 290.28-291.6.

¹⁰³*Chronicon Paschale*, I, 693, gives this very exact date of
February 9-15 in the Fifth Indiction. Also, the chronicle notes that
July 6, 602 to January of 603 was declared Maurice's second consul-
ship. The celebration of July 6 as the start of a consulship in
place of the traditional December 25 suggests an attempt to restore
confidence in the imperial family through largesse. Cf. Stratos, I, 40.

¹⁰⁴Theophanes, 283.35-284.3 in A.M. 6094 (601), November, which
is followed directly by the death of Dometianus of Melitene on
January 11, 602.

¹⁰⁵Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylact Simokatta", 314-315. Theophanes, according to Bury, was misled by Theophylact's dating of Theodosius' wedding to place the start of Peter's second campaign in the early summer of 602 (which is where we date it).

¹⁰⁶Theophylact, 291.7-292.8; Theophanes, 283.12-14; and John of Antioch, FHG, 218b are the reports of the stoning. Dometianus, relative and close advisor of Maurice, died on January 11, 602, three weeks before the stoning incident. Did Dometianus' death release pent-up discontent with Maurice? Dometianus was the architect of Maurice's religious policies involving persecutions of the Monophysites, policies which began in Maurice's seventeenth year, 599 (cf. Paret, 51-52 and Honigsmann, 222-223). These policies ended, apparently, with Dometianus' death. 59⁹ was the year, one recalls, when Maurice took to wearing the tattered rags of John the Faster.

One suspects the complicity of Germanos in the stoning. He protected his son-in-law Theodosius on this occasion and certainly hoped he would succeed Maurice forthwith (Theophylact, 291.19-21). The February 9-15, 602 wedding between Theodosius and Germanos' daughter may have been forced upon Maurice by the events of February 2, events helped along by Germanos (?).

¹⁰⁷Theophylact, 293-296.11.

¹⁰⁸Bury, II, 142, "Peter withdrew to Thrace for the winter" and "The Chronology of Theophylakt Simokatta", 314.

¹⁰⁹Theophylact, 292.9-27, especially 292.19-20, δυσανασχετοῦν-τος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μὴ τοιαύταις συνθήκαις ὑπαρξείν τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐκατέρω διαλύεται δύναμις.

¹¹⁰Ibid., τοῦ δὲ θέρους ἐπείγοντος ἀκοή γίνεται Μαυρικίῳ τῷ αυτοκράτορι....

¹¹¹Ibid., ὅπως ὑπορρεμβομένης τῆς Ῥωμαίων πληθύος ἀνδρά-κινήσει τινὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸ Βυζάντιον ἐπιστάτῃ.

¹¹²Ibid., 293.

¹¹³Bury's position depends on accepting his argument that the statement "Peter built a palisade and spent the summertime" at Palastolos (Theophylact, 292.11) refers only to the days between August 13 and the end of that month (Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylakt Simokatta", 314).

CHAPTER II

THEOPHANES' CHRONOLOGY TAKEN FROM
THEOPHYLACT'S HISTORYTheophanes' Interest in Theophylact's History

Theophanes' Chronographia and Theophylact's History are together the best sources for the Avar Wars of the emperor Maurice. Text comparisons by de Boor and his predecessors have long since established Theophanes' dependence on Theophylact. Although Theophanes' Chronographia contains other information that makes useful additions to Theophylact, the chronicler's reliance upon Theophylact is so extensive that these few additions are meaningless without Theophylact as a guide.

The pains Theophanes took when he adapted Theophylact's History to the format of a chronicle proves his strong interest in the work. He carefully, if inaccurately, adapted Theophylact's chronology, based for the most part on seasons of the year, to one that employed Indictions (the 15-year Roman taxation cycle) and the world years of the Alexandrine chronological system.¹ He also reduced the speeches in Theophylact to usable size. He further restricted himself by including only those events which are actually historically relevant, omitting many of Theophylact's fascinating digressions. The transformation

of Theophylact's history in the Chronographia warrants our attention.

Theophanes gave a significant amount of space in the Chronographia to his transformation of Theophylact's History. The de Boor edition of Theophylact is 314 pages long (from a manuscript of 184 folios, recto and verso). Theophanes reduced it to fifty pages in the Chronographia,² but each year covered in an annal from Theophylact receives twice the space given the average annal. Thus the twenty years of Maurice's reign fill forty printed pages, which is an average of two pages of text per annum. The ratio for all materials in the Chronographia from 285 to 813 is less than one printed page per annal. For the years after Maurice's death in A.M. 6095 (November, 602), i.e. A.M. 6095-6305 (603-813) occupy two hundred eleven pages, or one annal per page. It seems obvious that Theophanes devoted more space to Maurice's reign because he wanted to, also that Theophanes felt under no restrictions to restrict each annal to a specific number of lines.

Theophanes' treatment of Procopius the historian further illustrates that Theophanes felt free to include as much (or as little) as he wanted in a particular annal. Theophanes amassed thirty (deBoor) pages of selections from Procopius' histories of the wars of the emperor Justinian and placed them all in A.M. 6026 (534)! This

is the longest annal in the Chronographia. Another three pages of materials from Procopius appear in A.M. 6033 (541). Otherwise, however, there is little additional borrowing from Procopius' vast corpus. Why Theophanes used so little of Procopius is a very interesting question, but one which cannot be resolved. The example of Procopius clearly shows that when necessary, Theophanes could create an over-sized thirty-page annal.

This chapter analyzes the intricate process by which Theophanes added Theophylact's history to the annals. A substantial effort is now devoted to the exegesis of how Theophanes adapted the chronology he found in Theophylact. As we continue to investigate such minutiae of chronology, we are then better able to discuss other subjects in succeeding chapters.

Theophanes' Chronology

Theophanes' year began on September first. The Roman fiscal year had been based on this September date for centuries by the time Theophanes used it in the ninth century. Although the Indiction cycle that begins on September first was actually instituted by the non-Christian emperor Diocletian in 298 or 313, the ecclesiastical calendars show that September first had long possessed Christian sanction by the time Theophanes was writing.

For example, the synaxaria link the institution of the Indiction Cycle and registration for the purposes of taxation to the Roman census of Augustus Caesar on which Jesus Christ's name appeared.³ God's apparent approval of that census has often been used as proof of Christ's Roman citizenship and God's favorable opinion of the Roman Empire.⁴

On the other hand, Theophanes' Indiction year was not the universal standard. As we have seen Theophylact employed a seasonal chronology that may have its roots in Thucydides. However, Theophylact sometimes provides regnal years along with the seasons, but not in a systematic way. It should be emphasized that Theophylact never mentions the Indiction cycle. Moreover, Theophanes' Chronographia is a World Year system that dates Creation to the year 5492 B.C. that begins each year on March 25, 5492 B.C. George Synkellos, who gave Theophanes this chronological system, may have brought it from Palestine where it was in use among the monks there.⁵

To understand Theophanes' chronological techniques, it is very important to keep in mind the differences among these three chronological systems. These differences help explain why Theophanes placed his sequence of events (discussed in Chapter One; see Table 1) the way he did in the Chronographia. As Table 1 shows, Theophanes

conforms only occasionally to any modern chronologies for the 591-602 period. However, Theophanes' chronology is logical, even though wrong.

Our analysis of Theophanes' chronological reasoning begins with A.M. 6082 (590), the beginning of the Avar wars. Here Theophanes first mentions the transfer of the Roman army from the Persian frontier to Thrace. The date is one year too early for the transfer and comes about, apparently, from a misreading of Theophylact. Theophanes wrote "The Avar War boiled over in Europe".⁶ Theophylact, on the other hand, stated only that Maurice "learned that the Avars wanted to advance"⁷ and that "when the expected happened, he would be prepared".⁸ This conforms with the picture of Thrace in 591 as developed in Chapter One, a Thrace where Maurice was in a position to forestall any Avar invasion. Theophanes did not read this passage in its conditional sense, that is, what Maurice would do when and if the Avars invaded. He apparently assumed an Avar invasion was the cause of the troop transfers and, since the troops were transferred in the spring, he put the Avar invasion in the preceding year, namely, A.M. 6082 (590). However once committed to this starting point for his chronology, Theophanes managed to fill every annal up to the murder of Maurice in A.M. 6095, an event for which he had an

independent Indiction dating (Sixth Indiction, September 1, 602 to August 31, 603).

Theophanes placed Maurice's obscure personal campaign in A.M. 6083 (591), the Avar invasion in A.M. 6084 (592), and Priskos' first campaign to the Danube regions in A.M. 6085 (593). In his race to reach 602, Theophanes first begins to gain ground in A.M. 6086 (594). Table 4 following illustrates the situation.

TABLE 4
Items 22 to 28

22. Priskos takes Roman army to Dorostolos on the Danube	spring, 598	Bury, 592; Coumert, 593; Labadie, 596	A.M. 6085 591
23. Avar Kakh's embassy to Priskos; Kakh's speech to the Roman army	598	Bury, 592	A.M. 6085 592
24. Defeat of the Slav Andagastos by Priskos	598	Bury, 592	A.M. 6085 593
25. Spoils taken from the Slavs sent to Maurice's children	598		
26. Gaepid helps Priskos capture Mousokios near Paspiros River	598	Bury, 592	A.M. 6085 591
27. Tatimir brings Maurice's message ordering Priskos to winter beyond Danube	summer, 598	Bury, 592; Dilger, 592; Stanjevic, 594	A.M. 6086 fall, 593
28. Capture of the Gaepid who murdered the Roman officer	598		

Theophanes gains one year (in 594) because he puts the capture of Mousokios (item 26) in the late summer of 6085 (593), but the return of Tatimir (item 27) in the fall of 6086 (also in 593). They are events of the same campaign year, but different annals because of Theophanes' use of a September 1 starting date for his world year.

The addition of one full year occurred when Theophanes put events of the next spring in the next world year, A.M. 6087 (595) although a winter did not intervene between Tatimir's mission (item 27) and Peter's appointment

as Priskos' replacement. In effect, Theophanes was left with Tatimir's mission occupying one annal by itself. However, what is an anomaly to us may have been an opportunity for Theophanes. In annal A.M. 6086 (594), Theophanes linked Tatimir's orders to Priskos to evidence he possessed that at some time the general Philippikos also replaced Priskos. A complete explanation for the source of Theophanes' insertion into A.M. 6086 (594) of the Philippikos replacement of Priskos is given in Chapter Five. It is necessary to note here only that one entire annal became available to Theophanes because of the divergence between the September first chronology of Theophanes and the campaign years of Theophylact's history. This annal (A.M. 6086), once it was oriented to Theophylact's narrative, appeared to be the one occasion in the development of the Avar War when Priskos was removed from command and was not replaced by Maurice's brother Peter. This was the only place to introduce Philippikos into the Chronographia, if Philippikos were to replace Priskos as the source indicated.

The same conflict between Theophanes' calculations and Theophylact's seasonal military campaigns stretched Peter's tenure out over three world years despite the fact that Peter's actual command was obviously very short-

lived (See items 30, 31 and 32 on Table 5 following).

TABLE 5
Items 29 to 34

Item	Episode	New Chronology	Other Chronologies	Theophanes' Chronology
29.	Priskos shares his spoils with the khaqan; Sesostris riddle	598	Bury, 592	A.M. 6087-595
30.	Peter takes command from Priskos for the first time	August, 598	Bury, 601ger, winter, 592-593; Labuda, 597	A.M. 6087 August, 595
31.	Peter joins festival for St. Loupos at Novae on the Danube	August, 24, 598	Bury, 593	A.M. 6088 fall, 595
32.	Peter defeats the Slav Pelragastos	fall, 598	Bury, 593	A.M. 6089 597
33.	Peter's army wiped out by Slavs; Priskos replaces Peter	winter, 598-599	Bury, 597	A.M. 6089 597
34.	Four years after the death of Patriarch John the Faster	599	Bury, ca. 593-597	

The exact moment when Peter replaced Priskos (item 30) is ambiguous in Theophylact. As was discussed in Chapter One, Priskos, not immediately informed of his replacement, continued his campaign against the Slavs. The reason Maurice replaced him is also uncertain. Theophanes' treatment of these incidents reflects these ambiguities. He first recorded Peter's appointment in A.M. 6087 (595) as the end of Priskos' command. He recorded it again in A.M. 6088 (fall, 595, 596), as the beginning of Peter's command. The entire year 596 was skipped, however, as Theophanes slipped into season-by-season thinking and started Peter's actual march along the Danube (item 31 and related events) in the spring of the next year, that is A.M. 6089 (597). Theophanes, therefore, expanded in the Chronographia the events of less than one year over several annals: 6087, 6088 and 6089.

The combination of Theophanes' handling of Tatimir's mission and Peter's appointment to replace Priskos transformed one year (598 in our new chronology) into parts of five consecutive annals (A.M. 6085, 6086, 6087, 6088 and 6089). The last annal, 6089, is the year 597 so that Theophanes has nearly caught up with our chronology which places Peter's first campaign in 598. Theophanes catches up again, though only briefly, within annal A.M. 6091. However this happens only because Theophanes invented a winter's lull between the khagan's attack on Singidunum and the Avar invasion of Dalmatia (items 37, 38 and 39 on Table 6). The actual situation was that the khagan failed to capture Singidunum and retaliated by leaving Priskos to guard the Danube area, while he spent the remainder of that campaign year in Dalmatia.

TABLE 6

Items 36 to 43

36. Priskos returns to an army in shambles because of Peter's command	spring, 599	Bury, 597; Labuda, 598	A.M.6090 fall, 5977
37. Khagan attacks Singidunum, which is relieved by Priskos	early summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M.6090 fall, 5977
38. Avar khagan and Priskos retire for the winter	A.M.6090 winter, 597-598?
39. Khagan attacks Dalmatia; Goudouis follows and harasses	summer, 599	Bury, 598	A.M.6091 fall, 598
40. Hiatus of eighteen months along the Danube	early summer, 599	Bury, 598-599; Labuda, 598-600
41. Monk predicts Maurice's murder; a prophecy of the emperor's nineteenth year	August, 600 to August, 601	A.M.6091 601
42. Avar siege of Tonne and Priskos' attempt to end it	winter, 600-601	Bury, winter, 599-600	A.M.6092 spring, 600, March of 3ms Indiction
43. Easter truce at Tonne between khagan and Priskos	601	Bury, 600	A.M.6092 Easter, 600

Theophanes falls behind once more in that same annal (A.M. 6091) by making the opposite error to the one he made for annals A.M. 6085-89. The invasion of Dalmatia (item 39) and the siege of Tomae (item 42) are placed in adjacent annals A.M. 6091 and 6092, although the invasion of Dalmatia is intended to be in the fall of 598 (A.M. 6091) and the siege in the spring of 600 (A.M. 6092), eighteen months apart. They are events of adjacent annals, but not adjacent years.

As can readily be observed in this brief survey of Theophanes' chronology, he may have ended up like Theophylact at the murder of Maurice in 602, but he was not often on the same chronological track. In fact any chronological accuracy that is present in Theophanes is merely accidental. When he lacked an Indiction, Theophanes was lost.

Theophanes had some slight help from the Indictions for the years of Maurice, but he neglected to use one important date and the reason why would seem to be that the influence of Theophylact's History was too pervasive. The date in question is March of the Third Indiction, when Priskos marched to Singidunum.⁹ Neither the Indiction date nor the mention of the march to Singidunum easily coincide with any events listed in Theophylact's history at approximately that time (the Third Indiction equals

September 1, 599 to August 31, 600). Item 42 on Table 6 shows that in the Third Indiction Theophanes also connected the siege of Tomae with this march. Theophanes' chronology had, in fact, reached the spring of A.M. 6092 (600) so that connecting Priskos' presence at Singidunum with the siege of Tomae was confirmation of Theophanes' chronology. Theophanes wrote, "Leaving behind Singidunum, he (Priskos) approached this situation (the siege of Tomae)".¹⁰

However, there is no evidence in Theophylact that Priskos was at Singidunum before he advanced to the relief of Tomae. Theophanes simply ignored the eighteen month hiatus that prevailed along the Danube from 599 to 600 (item 40). His clever deduction that Priskos went from Singidunum to Tomae and the coincidence that the Third Indiction could be made to support Theophanes' chronology taken from Theophylact may have convinced Theophanes that his overall chronological calculations were correct.

The advance of Priskos to Singidunum in the Third Indiction does have an appropriate use. It attests that Priskos was in Singidunum in March of 600. As this occurs in the middle of the eighteen month lull in fighting along the Danube (item 40), it suggests the reason for the quiet. Priskos was in that area with the forces necessary to

maintain the status quo. If removed from the context invented by Theophanes in annal A.M. 6092 (600), this date by Indiction serves to corroborate independently the new chronology for Theophylact which we have proposed in Chapter One.

We must return for a moment to the confidence Theophanes appears to have had in the chronology he developed from Theophylact's history. Theophanes ignored the chronological markers that undermined his calculations. For example, the monk's prediction that Maurice would be murdered (item 41) appeared in Theophylact's narrative at a point that Theophanes dated to A.M. 6091 (599). However the monk's prediction was a chronological marker that pointed to 601. Undaunted, Theophanes removed the prediction from its context and placed it where it belonged in A.M. 6093 (601), leaving the remainder of Theophylact's narrative back in A.M. 6091 (599) where his calculations told him it belonged.

A second example of Theophanes' confidence in his own calculations is his dating of the stoning of Maurice that took place on February 2, 602, according to all other sources and reconstructed chronologies (item 53 on Table 1). Theophanes placed the incident in annal A.M. 6093 (601), more specifically, the summer of 601. Theophanes' timing of the incident in the summer months is an important clue

to his reaction to this chronological marker. He was able to place the stoning of Maurice at the end of A.M. 6093 (601), that is, before September 1, 601, because he omitted proof that dated the stoning incident to the winter, on February second.

Three reports of the stoning exist: Theophanes, John of Antioch and Theophylact. The reports of Theophanes and John of Antioch are nearly verbatim, except for their dating.¹¹ Theophylact's version is different, although John of Antioch and Theophylact have this in common, that both dated the ceremonial march to Blachernae, during which Maurice was stoned, to the Presentation (the Feast of the Purification or Candlemas) on February 2.¹² Theophanes omitted this crucial information.

To conclude with Theophanes' chronology that which he took from Theophylact, we can accept about the chronicler the following : first, Theophanes was not cheating or "hammering the metal thin", as Bury observed when Theophanes' inconsistencies hindered him in the solution of Theophylact's chronology.¹³ Theophanes' errors stem from his familiarity with Indictions and his unfamiliarity with other systems of reckoning. On the other hand, Theophanes was not careless. Every item was located in an annal for a specific and calculated reason. Finally, knowing that chronological markers do exist in Theophylact's

history and acknowledging that Theophanes altered Theophylact's chronology with such care, we must admit that Theophanes knew and understood Theophylact's History.

This conclusion is subject to two qualifications. The first concerns Theophylact's geographical information and Theophanes' reaction to it. Theophanes did not try to make coherent Theophylact's geography, as he tried to do with his chronology. Except for changes in spelling that cannot be attributed to simple mistakes, Theophanes did not alter Theophylact's geography at all. In the ninth century, it seems as if Theophanes, a Roman in Constantinople, knew less about Thrace than did the Egyptian Theophylact writing from Syria in the 620s! How could this be so? Perhaps because by Theophanes' time, a Bulgaro-Slavic presence had long since replaced the Romans in Illyricum and Thrace.

The second qualification concerns how Theophanes misunderstood the geopolitical situation in Thrace and Illyricum. He changed the Avaro-Roman Treaty of 601, in addition to dating it incorrectly A.M. 6092 (600). One recalls that the Avars and Romans agreed that each could cross the Danube to attack the Slavs wherever they might be. Theophanes changed this provision entirely, "They swore not to cross the Ister (Danube)," he wrote.¹⁴ This change

suggests that Theophanes, like some modern scholars, did not understand the extent to which Avar power extended below the Danube, nor the presence of Slavs in unorganized groups throughout Illyricum and Thrace. This misconception, coupled with Theophanes' apparent indifference to inconsistencies in Theophylact's geography, limited how critically Theophanes could read Theophylact. Theophanes, therefore, provides an accurate summary of Theophylact, but only as understood by a man of the ninth century. Unfortunately this summary tells us more about Theophanes' methods and ignorance than it does about Theophylact's History.

Footnotes to Chapter II

¹The standard work on Theophanes' general chronological system is George Ostrogorsky, "Die Chronologie des Theophanes im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert", Byzantinische-Neugriechische Jahrbücher 7(1930), 1-56. His study concentrates primarily on the long period from 603 to 776 during which Theophanes' dates by Indiction year are one year ahead of his dates Anno Mundi (there is a brief period from 714 to 726 when these two sets of dates agree). For this and other determinations based on Theophanes' the chronological system that prevails in the Chronographia is very important. Did Theophanes begin his year on March 25 or September 1 and did he rely upon Byzantine Indictions rather than upon World Years reckoned on the basis of the birth of Christ in 5492? Ostrogorsky determines that Theophanes follows the September reckoning so that his Indictions are his most reliable dates. However, V. Grumel, "L'année du monde dans la Chronographie de Théophane", Échos d'Orient 33(1934), 396-408 (followed by Mango, "Who wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 17), asserts that the Chronographia proceeds on the basis of a March 25 start for each annal (A.M.). Mango's agreement with Grumel is based on his thesis that George Synkellos used the chronological system of Palestine and was the Chronographia's true author.

Bury, II, 425-427 accepted Theophanes' World Year dates rather than the Indictions when the two disagreed. Cf. also H. Hubert, "Observations sur la chronologie de Théophane et de quelques lettres des papes (726-774)", BZ 6(1897), who agreed on the basis that Rome was using a different Indiction at the time, just as Bury argued that emperor Leo III doubled taxation in 726, collecting the taxes of two Indictions in one year and thus moving the Indictions ahead of a true chronology by one year also (Bury, II, 437). The first to dispute both of these was E.W. Brooks, "The Chronology of Theophanes, 607-775", BZ 8(1899), 82-97, and "Indictions at Rome, 726-775", EHR 13(1898), 503-504.

The importance of these studies for this chapter is the light they each may have shed on Theophanes' use of Indictions. These studies do not directly treat the reign of Maurice (582-602) or Theophanes' chronology of that reign. There are, in fact, very few actual indictions used by Theophanes during the period 582-602. Theophanes' source Theophylact does not use indictions at all. However, there is still the question of the day on which Theophanes started his year. We believe that this chapter shows that Theophanes was committed to a September 1 starting date. This is further support for Ostrogorsky's general study. This period of time (582-602) is a good perspective from which to judge Theophanes' general reckoning precisely because he does not use very many indictions. We see how he reckons when he does not have them to depend on.

²Theophanes, 244-291. This is an approximate figure because Theophylact is the source of some materials appearing in earlier annals and because other sources are used along with Theophylact on pages 244-291.

³Synaxarium, 1 (September 1).

⁴The Pax Augusti and the birth of Christ were linked by Providence according to the Byzantine theory. Cf. Francis Dvornik, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy (Washington, D.C., 1966), II, 585.

⁵This problem is discussed in detail in this dissertation. Infra, chap. viii.

⁶Theophanes, 267 31-33, εἰρήνης δὲ βασιλείας τὴν ἀναολὴν καταλαβούσης, Ἀβαρικὸς ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑσπέρην ἐκύμανε πόλεμος.

⁷Theophylact, 218.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Theophanes, 278.13-14, Τούτῳ τῷ ἔτει, Ἰνδικτιῶνος γ', μηνὶ Μαρτίῳ, ἀναλαβὼν τὰς δυνάμεις ὁ Πρίσκος ἐπὶ τὴν Σιγγιδῶνα παραγίνεται.

¹⁰Ibid., 278.16-17, ...τὴν Σιγγιδῶνα καταλιπὼν τούτῳ ἐπλησίασεν.

¹¹John of Antioch, FHG, 218c and Theophanes, 283.12-24.

¹²Ἑκατηντὴν in John of Antioch (FHG, 218c) and "forty days after Christ's birthday" in Theophylact (291.8-10).

¹³Bury, "The Chronology of Theophylakt Simokatta", 312.

¹⁴Theophanes, 280.9-10, καὶ τὸν Ἰστρον ποταμὸν μὴ διαβαίνειν ἀμολόγησεν.

PART TWO

THE USE OF QUOTED SPEECH BY THEOPHANES

CHAPTER III

SELECTION OF SPEECHES FROM
THEOPHYLACT'S HISTORY

Theophylact's quoted speeches played an essential role in Theophanes' project, but the chronicler's use of them was biased by his belief that Theophylact was a rhetorician. The many differences in Theophylact's quoted speeches in the original History and Theophanes' adaptation or exclusion of these speeches in the Chronographia are the raw material from which this chapter is fashioned.

Written speeches were the documentary evidence of Byzantine historians like Theophylact. Theophylact included a great number of long speeches in the History, most of which were either orations of Roman, Persian and Avar commanders to their respective armies, or the speeches of ambassadors. Persian ambassadors harangued Roman troops, shaking their resolve to fight. Avar barbarians elegantly presented their arguments to Roman audiences. A Roman ambassador told an elaborate fable about an Egyptian king to the Avar khagan. We must remember that Theophylact was first of all a rhetorician who described events for which he was not a contemporary. If anything, he tended to use, or rather over-use speeches as a way of describing historical events.

Thucydides, one of Theophylact's models, used speeches in a more restricted manner, reporting the gist of what had been said while admitting the limits of memory.¹ Theophylact's rhetorical inclination was to assume that every event was the occasion for a speech. This is obvious to the modern reader, as indeed it was to Theophanes. Theophanes also recognized that most of Theophylact's speeches had never been spoken. Theophylact simply made them up. However as a diligent student who wished to add nothing of his own, Theophanes had a powerful incentive to use these speeches (or versions of them) in his Chronographia. These speeches were useful to Theophanes in one way, since any given speech could be easily integrated with other information about a given event. Speeches are brief, distinct moments in time, and as such Theophanes could place each in a separate annal. In essence speeches provided Theophanes with historical information which could satisfy the need for tidiness which an annalistic format demands. For Theophylact the primary value of a speech was "artistic". Theophylact was always first a rhetorician. For Theophanes, whose chronographic requirements were most important, a speech in Theophylact could be used to avoid a lengthier narrative which might spill over from one annal to another.

However, very few of Theophylact's speeches moved untouched into Theophanes' chronicle.

Typically, Theophanes rewrote speeches he believed were inventions, but which reflected some actual speaking occasion (for example, a funeral or coronation). Theophanes even took the facts from a speech he suspected was counterfeit and discarded the rest of the speech.

Theophanes also himself invented statements for occasions where Theophylact only mentions that someone spoke. For the most part these inventions are not full-fledged speeches, but rather short spoken statements that sum up a situation and that can be attributed to an important figure present on that occasion. Theophanes' invented statements are taken up in Chapter Three, the second half of this study's discussion of the chronicler's method. The present chapter, Chapter III, discusses Theophanes' treatment of ten speeches quoted by Theophylact. It was a rare speech in Theophylact that could serve the purposes of Theophanes' "chronological shorthand" and remain unabridged in the process. Justin II's abdication speech survived intact after such a transition. The reasons for this must be explored in detail.

Justin II's Abdication Speech

One example where Theophanes' chronological needs converged with Theophylact's artistic interests was the speech of Justin II in 574. Theophanes preserved this

speech in virtually the same form as found in Theophylact, because Theophanes was convinced that here indeed were the true words of Justin. How we arrived at this conclusion needs explanation, as does our further conclusion concerning Theophanes' use of Theophylact's speeches as "documents".

Where Theophylact openly states that he reported a speech as it was actually delivered, he usually intends to show the lack of cultivation or mental debility of the speaker. This was merely explanation for why he had not written a prettier speech. Theophylact never claims to possess a verbatim transcripts of such speeches. For example, when Chosroes II, king of Persia wrote to the emperor Maurice, Theophylact included this preface to the letter (which for our purposes is considered a "speech"):

The request of the Persian king was composed in some such way as this. I [Theophylact] will express the request as a quotation in an unbeautified form, so that we, owing to the lack of artistry of the speech, may look directly at the unaffected meaning of the request.²

It is Theophylact the rhetorician who by inference admits that he would generally prefer to make his quoted speech "beautiful". However in this case he did not want to obscure the clarity of the request from Chosroes so he states the letter in a simple fashion. Thus we learn two things of importance from this preface. It is

obvious that Theophylact composed the letter, and that its composition does not reflect the normally high quality of Theophylact's rhetorical art.³

A similar preface is attached to Justin's abdication speech:

I will present the advice of the autocrat which he gave to Tiberius the Caesar while making the public speech at the proclamation of Tiberius, neither beautifying the plainness of the language nor altering the disorderliness of the words; but I will to some extent supplement the bare meaning of the words so that the purity of the things said may come out despite the nakedness and shapelessness of his speech.⁴

Here again Theophylact apologizes to the reader for the simple style of the speech. However what is most important is that he seems to infer that he is presenting the speech intact, only admitting to such alterations as were needed to make it more comprehensible.

However much Theophylact altered this speech, it is apparent that Theophanes believed Theophylact quoted the speech verbatim. However other versions of the Justin speech exist, and they make it clear that Theophylact may have done more than "supplement the bare meaning of the words so that the purity of the things said may come out".⁵ On the one hand, we may conclude that Theophanes thought the speech a verbatim transcript of Justin's words. On the other hand, it is probable that Theophylact's Justin speech is an unreliable later revision by the historian

Theophylact. This unique situation is the perspective from which we can search to discover Theophanes' critical standard for either including or excluding such quoted speeches.

The Versions of Justin's Abdication Speech

Justin's words to Tiberius, according to Theophylact and Theophanes, were the following:

Behold God doing you this good. God is giving you this mark of distinction, not I. Honor it in order to be honored by it. Honor your mother who was once your ruler; you know that first you were her servant, now her son. Do not revel in blood, nor join in murders, nor return evil for evil, nor be like me in vengeance. For I, as a mortal man, was paid back [for I was a sinner] and was afflicted for my sins. But I shall be avenged upon the perpetrators of this against me at the throne of Christ. Let not this distinction exalt you as it did me. Be the same to all as you are to yourself. Remember what you were and what you now are. Do not shine too brilliantly and do not sin. You know what I was, what I became and what I am. All these are your children and your servants. You know that I preferred you of those of my own blood. When you look upon them you see all those of the government. Pay attention to the soldier. Do not entertain sycophants. Do not allow some to say that the man before you did such and such; for I say these things from what I experienced [suffered?]. Leave those who have in possession of their wealth; give to those who have not.⁶

Tiberius, when he finished listening to this advice, threw himself at the feet of Justin, who added:

If you wish, I am; if you wish, I am not. May God, who made heaven and earth, implant everything I have forgotten to say to you in your heart.⁷

According to Theophylact, Justin was insane but he made this speech in a moment of temporary lucidity. It was an insanity which resulted from Justin's severe remorse after the loss of Dara to the Persians in 574. Justin's wife, the Augusta Sophia, demanded that he appear before the people and notables to proclaim Tiberius as Caesar.⁸

The Monophysite historian John of Ephesus believed that God drove Justin mad because he persecuted the orthodox (i.e. Monophysites),⁹ an explanation for Justin's insanity Theophylact would surely have avoided. According to John, Justin's bloodthirstiness, murder and revenge which Justin confessed in Theophylact's version of the speech also were explained as being part of religious persecution. Moreover, the temporary lucidity of the mad emperor was produced, according to John, by God, who sent an angel to dictate the speech to Justin.¹⁰ Michael the Syrian, a twelfth century chronicler who reflects the Monophysite tradition, if not John of Ephesus directly, quotes the entire Justin speech in a form much like Theophylact's, but longer and including the connection between Justin's bloodthirstiness and persecution of Christians.¹¹

In effect Theophylact gave Justin's insanity a

diagnosis independent of a divine cause and rewrote the speech to omit the religious issue. His apology for the "disorderliness of the words" in Justin's speech is a confession that he edited out parts of the speech he felt did not belong in it, in effect Justin's religious concerns. It would appear that Theophylact intentionally omitted the religious content of the speech. Why would he have done so? One recalls that Theophylact's project was sponsored in the early seventh century by the Patriarch Sergius. Sergius as well as the emperor Heraclius espoused a compromise between the orthodox and the Monophysites.¹² The compromise referred to was Monothelism. In this instance, Theophylact revised Justin's abdication speech so as to create a neutral, "monothelite" document.

However despite Theophylact's careful rewriting, Theophanes linked the speech to Monophysitism anyway.¹³ Thus, as we will see, Theophanes obviously felt free to change his source Theophylact even though he accepted the fact that the speech was a faithful rendering of what Justin said.

Theophanes' Changes

Theophanes put Justin's speech in annal A.M. 6070 (fall, 577-578), which is not the accepted date for

Justin's abdication. Justin gave this speech, and made Tiberius a Caesar, on December 7, 574. Both contemporary sources and Theophylact give this date.¹⁴ Also, Justin died four years later in 578, a few days after Tiberius was crowned emperor and co-ruler. Theophanes recorded both of these events in the Chronographia,¹⁵ but he did not place Justin's speech in 574 at Tiberius' elevation to the rank of Caesar, the correct date, but rather in A.M. 6070 (578). This change was entirely Theophanes' own. There can be no source that told him the speech belonged in A.M. 6070, rather than 6067 (fall, 574) where he placed the elevation of Tiberius to Caesar or 6071 (fall, 578) where he placed the start of Tiberius' sole rule.

Theophanes' location of the speech arose from his dating by Indiction years and from his association of the speech with two events: the restoration of Patriarch Eutychius of Constantinople in October of the Eleventh Indiction (September 1, 577-August 31, 578), and Justin the emperor's death in 565. Eutychius (552-565 and 577-582) had been exiled by Justinian I eight months before Justin's accession (in 565) for defending orthodoxy against a Justinianic "novelty."¹⁶ His restoration occurred in 577, but also in the Eleventh Indiction (September 1, 577-August 31, 578) because it took place in October of 577, the same indiction as much of 578.

This allowed Theophanes to associate Justin's abdication speech with Justin's impending death and with a proper occasion for the speech, namely, the restoration of Eutychius.

What made Theophanes associate the abdication speech with Justin's impending death? Theophanes did not believe that Justin was insane so he simply eliminated the abdication speech of 574 from its keynote position at the elevation of Tiberius to Caesar. According to Theophanes, Justin adopted Tiberius, making him caesar, because Justin's legs were paralysed and he had to lie down most of the time.¹⁷ Justin, according to Theophanes, though weak, was well enough to participate in the crowning of Tiberius as emperor and co-ruler. This ceremony in 578 is invented by Theophanes as Justin "led"¹⁸ Tiberius forward, presenting him to the assembled patriarch, Senate and other dignitaries. After the speech exhorting Tiberius to rule wisely, Tiberius fell "at Justin's feet".¹⁹ For Theophanes, Justin recovered the use of his limbs rather than his mind on this occasion.

Why did the restoration of the Patriarch Eutychius become for Theophanes the proper event to precede Justin's speech? It must have been partly because the patriarch's restoration was the one other event dated to the Eleventh

Indiction. However, Theophanes could have associated the speech with the start of Tiberius' sole reign in 578, in October of the Twelfth Indiction, a more reasonable choice since it obviously occurred just after Justin's death. However, Theophanes preferred to associate Justin's speech with Eutychius' restoration and the most important reason for this decision has to do with the content of Justin's speech. It was for Theophanes (though not Theophylact!) full of sound religious advice.

Theophanes considered Justin "entirely orthodox"²⁰ so that the restoration of Eutychius by Justin and the speech full of advice for Tiberius seemed to the chronicler to belong together. Both events were attempts by Justin to insure that Tiberius preserved orthodoxy, so why not put them together? However the speech (in Theophanes' hands) was transformed into a plea by Justin not to reverse his religious policies, which is to say Justin's persecutions of the Monophysites. Here we have an example of a speech that Theophanes accepted as a true document, but one which he used to emphasize the content of another event which happened four years later!

Theophanes' use of the Justin speech allows us to begin developing a more general view of how Theophanes

used such speeches. The Justin speech itself supplied for Theophanes the factual information for A.M. 6070 (578). The speech could be used to summarize Justin's reign because it in effect became his last words and testament. We know he moved it to this annal because it satisfied his needs as a chronicler. I suggest that Theophanes accepted the authenticity of Justin's speech, using it to the utmost for his own purposes. Is there a better way to interpret Theophanes' unusual reaction to the Justin speech?

Čičurov's Thesis

The Russian scholar I.S. Čičurov has evaluated Theophanes' verbatim quotation of the Justin speech in a different way. Looking for evidence of Theophanes' ideology, Čičurov stated that Theophanes included Justin's speech because Theophanes was interested in the speech's ideological rather than historical context. He claimed that Theophanes was prompted to quote the speech because it contained "the traditional orthodox elements of the ideal emperor".²¹

Here one is faced with a choice between Čičurov's approach and the line of inquiry in this chapter. The former involves speculation about Theophanes' "tastes", while my approach explains the same choices in practical

terms, namely as attempts to transfer material from the History to the Chronographia in the most concise, but accurate way. These practical considerations, it seems to me, often preclude any speculation about Theophanes' ideological point of view.

Tiberius' Speech to Maurice (582)

The inadequacy of Čičurov's view is well illustrated by a speech Theophanes did not include, one Tiberius addressed to Maurice.²² Theophylact's History begins with the coronation of Maurice by Tiberius. In contrast to the Justin speech which is buried deep in Theophylact's text as a flashback to explain the causes of Maurice's Persian war, the Tiberius speech launches not only Maurice's reign but the History as well. It is rhetorical and long, and like the Justin speech makes comments about the qualities of a good emperor, especially an emperor's obligations to his subjects.²³

Theophanes did not quote this speech as he had the Justin Speech. According to Čičurov, the reason for this is that Theophanes did not like the parts of the speech which implied that an emperor had these obligations towards his subjects.²⁴ Such obligations implied a limitation on imperial power that did not fit Theophanes "traditional orthodox" underpinnings. The Justin speech

becomes evidence for Čičurov's autoreferat (Dissertation précis), which concludes that Theophanes was a believer in the absolute power of the emperor, a power which descends from the Orthodox God.²⁵

The argument, however, seems to depend on the fact that Theophanes chose to include Justin's speech as a quotation, but Tiberius' speech as a summary. Theophanes does in fact summarize Tiberius' speech, stating simply that Tiberius was unable to carry out his duties for the good of the Romans and therefore wanted to make Maurice emperor.²⁶ Theophanes simply omitted Theophylact's rhetorical version of the speech, not its central message. We have no quarrel with the statement that Theophanes' political theory might be absolutist, but how do these speeches help us to prove it one way or the other?

Why did Theophanes omit Tiberius' speech? The Theophylact version is seventy-five lines long in the published text, four times as long as Justin's. Moreover, it is the first oration provided by Theophylact. The speech reveals something of the character of Tiberius, and implies what the Romans should expect from Maurice. For Theophylact's purposes, Tiberius' speech is really a carefully contrived preface for the reign of Maurice. Unfortunately, it is so good as an introductory speech that it seems counterfeit, partly because for Theophanes' purpose it

contains no factual information about Tiberius' accomplishments, as in the Justin speech. Of course Tiberius had eaten poisoned mulberries not long before the speech and was raised on a litter to deliver it.²⁷ Was he in any condition to deliver a lengthy oration?

Although the speech did not lack interest for Theophanes, it did lack likelihood. So, Theophanes recorded that the speech had been made, but refused Theophylact's version of the speech, just as he refused to believe that Justin was insane and yet delivered a coherent speech. The reaction of Theophanes to both speeches suggests to us a chronicler looking first for plausibility and then for useful factual information, not a chronicler making selections under the influence of his prejudices or "tastes".

Komentiolos' Denunciation of the
Avar Khagan

Other speeches in Theophylact underwent extensive scrutiny by Theophanes. For example, Theophanes omitted a challenge to the Avar khagan by the Roman ambassador Komentiolos because he had already eliminated the occasion in which it took place. Komentiolos had outraged the khagan in a speech which denounced Avar presumptuousness.²⁸ This provoked the khagan to arrest Komentiolos, a Roman ambassador at the time, and condemn

him to death.²⁹ Perhaps Theophanes reasoned that a Roman ambassador would not have spoken to the khagan in those terms, and he judged the speech implausible because of the character of Komentiolos, who is portrayed as a coward in later pages of Theophylact's History.³⁰ Whatever the reason for omitting Komentiolos' remarkable speech, for Theophanes its removal solved certain chronological problems related to the fall of Sirmium.

Theophanes' Dating of the Fall of Sirmium

One recalls from the first chapter of this study that the conquest of Sirmium by the Avars sometime between 579 and 581) created a new balance of power in Illyricum and Thrace. This conquest is only referred to indirectly (not dated) by Theophylact, who refers his readers to the historian Menander for the full story.³¹ What Theophylact records is only the aftermath of the fall of Sirmium. Beginning after the fall of Sirmium, Theophylact records that the Avars forced the Romans to accept a humiliating peace, then demanded more tribute (including elephants and golden couches!) When the Romans refused to add another 20,000 nomismata to the annual tribute, the Avars attacked Singidunum and marched

into Thrace against Anchialus.³² There Elpidios and Komentiolos went to see the khagan (for the location of Anchialus and this meeting see Appendix B). It was at this time that Komentiolos made his speech, ending negotiations which were resumed the next year by Elpidios. Elpidios' second mission to the khagan was in 584.³³ After Theophylact finished filling in these details about Avaro-Roman relations, he informs us that he is now going back in time to Maurice's coronation, and to the beginning of Maurice's Persian war. Because Theophylact jumped back without stating how many years had intervened, it is impossible to explain from Theophylact alone how the Avaro-Roman events of 579-584, which we have just mentioned, actually pertain to Maurice's reign. None of these events enable us to date the fall of Sirmium.

Theophanes in fact did not have any source that dated the fall of Sirmium correctly. He dated its loss to "a little before" A.M. 6075 (583).³⁴ Theophanes contradicts Theophylact, reflecting Theophylact's "flashback", but by stating that there was only one embassy to the khagan from the Romans and it achieved peace with the Avars without any incident involving Komentiolos' speech.³⁵ Reading only Theophanes, one would learn that there was only one

embassy by Elpidios to the Avars which took place "a little before" May 10, 583 on the eve of Maurice's renewal of the Persian war. The negotiations appear to have become nothing more than preliminaries for war in the East, during 583 rather than a major Roman concern from 579 until 584.

It can be shown that Theophanes did not overlook Komentiolos' speech accidentally, but rather omitted it on purpose. As though to underscore his doubts about the verisimilitude of Komentiolos' speech in Theophylact, Theophanes made Komentiolos a member of the embassy that obtained the peace with the Avars.³⁶ From his defiant posture in Theophylact's History, Theophanes reduced Komentiolos to insignificance, even silence.

The Speech of Mebodes, the Persian Satrap

Mebodes, a Persian satrap (provincial governor) was met by Philippikos near Amida during the Persian war of Maurice. It was the spring of 586 and the Persian official told the Roman army of Persia's peaceful intentions. This upset Philippikos' army, according to Theophylact, and both the emperor Maurice and Philippikos became dubious about the reliability of their soldiers.³⁷ Philippikos stopped Mebodes before he finished his speech, but not

before the speaker had had some impact.

Theophanes did not follow Theophylact here. Any critical modern reader would doubt the verisimilitude of such a speech being made by a Persian to a Roman army. In fact, if Theophanes needed confirmation that all of Theophylact's speeches were counterfeits, Mebodes' speech could have provided it. Nevertheless Theophanes took this speech into account in A.M. 6078 (586), when he created his own speech for this same occasion.

Philippikos' Rebuttal in Theophanes

In Theophanes' version of that year's first encounter between Romans and Persians, Philippikos harangues his troops, asking them if they would "go to war with enthusiasm?"³⁸ This speech is not included or even implied in Theophylact, and thus it must be Theophanes' own invention. Theophanes probably believed that Mebodes' encounter with the Romans was an appropriate occasion for a speech of some kind. The speech (or rather the brief statement) he gave Philippikos allowed Theophanes to sum up a situation in which the army was reluctant to fight until rallied by their general. In reality, however, Philippikos' statement is a rebuttal to the Mebodes' speech which Theophanes never mentions!

The Speech of Justinian, The Strategos

A speech useful for uncovering another layer of Theophanes' method is contained in a flashback by Theophylact to the reign of Justin II (565-578). This flashback includes Justin's abdication speech discussed earlier in this chapter.

Strategos Justinian's speech to his troops during the Persian war of that era (570's) is the earliest speech from Theophylact that Theophanes omitted.³⁹ Justinian's speech contrasts sharply with Justin's which, as we know, Theophanes recorded verbatim in the Chronographia. Justinian's speech, convincing his troops not to be afraid of the Persians, is very long and very elaborate.⁴⁰ Apparently, the Roman army was worried because Chosroes himself led the Persian army. Justinian tried to restore confidence by giving a speech in which he called his men philosophers because death was their special concern, but called Chosroes a fancy rhetorician whose men were feeble.⁴¹ Theophylact's speech is an exercise in rhetoric, not the words of a general to his soldiers.

Theophanes left this speech out, as by this time we might have expected. Instead he substituted the statement, "Justinian kept the battle-ready from yielding to their cowardice".⁴² Again, however, Theophanes went further and used the speech for his own purposes. He used

this speech and the related situation to explain why and when Persian kings ceased to lead their troops in person.

That Persian Kings no Longer Went to War

Theophanes and Theophylact include parallel statements reporting that the Persians decreed after their defeat by a mere general, Justinian, that never again would a Persian king go to war in person.⁴³ Observing the context in which Theophylact made this statement, one can see that the rhetorician used this Persian decree as vindication of the sentiments that Justinian had expressed in his long speech. The speech was the centerpiece of Theophylact's narrative, and the Persian decree simply a product of the speech. The message of Justinian's speech was still meaningful to Theophylact's contemporaries, who were again at war with Persia from 610-629.

Why did Theophanes include the Persian decree, considering the fact that he omitted the speech? In Theophanes the speech appears as a minor incident. However of historical interest to Theophanes was the fact that the Persians published a unique law after this military defeat. The decree which prohibited the king from leading his own troops was of antiquarian interest to

Theophanes, but it could hardly have had the kind of psychological significance it had for the Romans of Theophylact's History. Moreover Theophanes wanted mostly a "document" that was useful for him as a concise summary of the situation in A.M. 6073 (581).

Hormisdas' Denunciation of Chosroes II

Thus far in this discussion we have seen that Theophanes accepted the exact contents of only one speech, Justin's 'abdication' speech. Of Theophylact's other speeches, most are only remnants in Theophanes. One such "remnant" which receives better treatment in Theophanes is the speech (in 590) which was the plea of the deposed Persian king Hormisdas. Hormisdas addressed the assembled Persian nobility, and his captor Bindoes. On first look, one would think this speech might immediately fail Theophanes' tests for plausibility. How could the speech of a Persian, of a political prisoner, of an enemy of Byzantium have fallen into Theophylact's hands? But, surprisingly, Theophanes used it.

Theophanes rendered Hormisdas' speech as a nearly complete paraphrase written in the third person. The circumstances of the speech are as follows: Hormisdas had been deposed and thrown into a dungeon. Two Persians,

the general Baram and the king's son Chosroes, were vying to succeed him. Hormisdas pleaded that his son Chosroes not be his successor, that another of his sons be acknowledged by the Persians.⁴⁴ Neither Baram, who was in open revolt, nor Chosroes were likely to have shown mercy toward Hormisdas, especially Chosroes since Hormisdas warned the citizens of Persia of Chosroes' evil nature.⁴⁵ As one additional argument in favor of Hormisdas' choice of another son, the deposed king praised his own wisdom and effectiveness while king:

Did I not turn around to a great state of orderliness the affairs of the Persians, steering the Babylonian realm with the rudder of my wisdom? The proofs of my words are the Turks, who pay us tribute, the Dilimnitai, who have taken their weapons from our throats, and the Romans, who have lost their brilliant cities and now bemoan their future fortune because of the collapse of their earlier hopes.⁴⁶

Hormisdas was not begging to be restored to his throne; he was pointing out that he had earned the right to name his successor.

Theophanes changed Hormisdas' long-winded argument into another sort of statement in which Hormisdas proclaims:

You ought not err in such ways about your kings, especially one who, from the time he was king, produced so many trophies of victory and benefitted the Persians so much, having made the Turks pay tribute to Persia and the Romans beg for peace after he captured Martyropolis, and proved himself heir of his fathers' virtues.⁴⁷

As the passage shows, when compared to Theophylact's version, Theophanes expunged the Dilimnitai and added the name of the city Martyropolis. Also, Theophanes rearranged the parts of the speech. The second part of Theophanes' speech is the first half of Theophylact's. Theophanes' version is the following:

He urged that Chosroes not be proclaimed ruler of the realm because he is litigious, insatiable, bloodthirsty, arrogant, insulting and bellicose. He begged that another child be preferred to him and be proclaimed first as king.⁴⁸

Theophylact presents Hormisdas' warning to beware of Chosroes before he quotes Hormisdas' description of his own accomplishments as king of Persia. The clear intent of Theophylact's sequence is to show that Hormisdas used his accomplishments only in order to convince the Persians to take his advice and choose his 'true' son, who was "the brother of Chosroes by the necessity of nature, but not his brother by choice."⁴⁹ Theophanes, when it came time to paraphrase this speech, inverted the order of the two parts, switching Hormisdas' request and boast, in order to change the meaning, to separate the reasons Hormisdas gave for rejecting Chosroes from the impressive list of Hormisdas' accomplishments as king.

This switch can be used to explain why Theophanes included this speech in his chronicle. Hormisdas, in Theophanes' version, first and foremost reminded the Persians reproachfully of his glorious record. Then,

secondarily, Hormisdas "urged"⁵⁰ that Chosroes not be selected and another son preferred. For Theophanes, Hormisdas did not list his achievements in order to secure the succession of a son who might spare his father's life. Instead, Theophanes' Hormisdas put his deeds on the historical record so that all could wonder that such an effective ruler had been overthrown by his subjects and replaced by one like Chosroes. What Hormisdas said became a list of Hormisdas' verified achievements in Theophanes' chronicle, rather than elaborate argument to influence the choice of a successor (as in Theophylact).

Theophanes found Hormisdas' achievements verified elsewhere in Theophylact's History, and there is evidence that Theophanes actively looked for this verification. This evidence is contained in the new speech Theophanes composed and in the one factual addition that Theophanes made to the list of Hormisdas' achievements, the capture of Martyropolis. Theophylact's Hormisdas had only mentioned that the Romans lost "brilliant cities". Theophanes determined from another part of Theophylact's narrative that Martyropolis was what was chiefly meant.⁵¹ Theophanes had looked back thirty printed pages in the Roman History to discover this, but once discovered Theophanes concluded that this was verification that the

Hormisdas speech must have been made. Moreover this same passage that mentions Martyropolis also lists the other conquests Hormisdas spoke about: the victory over the Turks and the treasure the Turks agreed to restore and tribute they agreed to pay, as well as the pacification of the Dilimnitai.⁵² It provides all the factual content that is in Hormisdas' speech in Theophylact, as well as information about Hormisdas' predicament.⁵³

An historian more critical than Theophanes would have immediately wondered how an "authentic" speech of a Persian king could use the same facts and phraseology as Theophylact used in his preceding narrative. From a comparison of Hormisdas' arguments and Theophylact's facts, it is only too clear that Theophylact made up Hormisdas' speech to suit the facts in his history.

However that may be, we are still more concerned with Theophanes' use of the speech. Theophanes was looking for documentation for his chronicle. Once he discovered that the facts in Hormisdas' speech were indeed accurate, he concluded that the speech was useable and decided to include it. It suddenly became plausible that a Persian king dethroned by usurpers would have spoken on this occasion. Moreover, Theophanes may have liked the idea of suggesting that usurpers were always worse than those dethroned.⁵⁴

However the effect of Theophanes' reworking of the

speech was to make it the kind of factual "documentation" that Theophanes wanted, namely something which summarized the reign of Hormisdas, which stressed Byzantine defeats at his hands, which assessed Chosroes' character, and which would be neatly placed into an annal.

Paradoxically Theophanes, in looking for "solid facts" that he could safely locate in his chronicle, ended up choosing the shakiest kind of evidence in Theophylact, the speeches! Theophanes overlooked the fact that whatever Hormisdas said (or whatever Theophylact said he said) was invented by a rhetorician to fit a dramatic scene. Even the "factual" information is suspect. For example, Hormisdas' characterization and condemnation of his own son Chosroes is highly doubtful. Nevertheless Theophanes accepted it as true that Chosroes was "litigious, insatiable, bloodthirsty, contemptuous, insulting and bellicose".⁵⁵

Bindoes' Reply to Hormisdas

Bindoes, Hormisdas' captor, answered the former king point by point in Theophylact's History.⁵⁶ It ("Even now as a private citizen the tyrant does you wrong"⁵⁷ shouted Bindoes) was of the same length and it completed the rhetorical symmetry of the Persian drama Theophylact

meant to describe. This speech also deals only with facts and events that Theophylact had described in earlier passages of the Roman History. The two speeches make a pair.

However Theophanes did not treat them equally. Bindoes, in Theophanes, "rebutted" Hormisdas, turning the people against the king by enumerating Hormisdas' failures.⁵⁸ But Bindoes did not make a mocking statement that contradicted Hormisdas' claims, as he did do in the original Roman History. Bindoes did not belittle Hormisdas' accomplishments in Theophanes' version; rather he spoke only of Hormisdas' "sins" (sphalmata). Theophanes probably included Bindoes response because it was necessary to the narrative, which then proceeded to the killing of Hormisdas' wife and son and blinding of the former king. However Theophanes did not allow Bindoes to make light of Hormisdas' achievements (historical "facts" for Theophanes), as Bindoes had been allowed to do in the Roman History. Theophanes' treatment of Bindoes' speech further illustrates the special value and usefulness which such speeches had for the chronicler.

The Restoration of Chosroes II (591)

After Hormisdas' liquidation, Theophylact's Roman History reports its most important event and perhaps Maurice's

greatest achievement: the restoration by Maurice of Chosroes to the Persian throne. This feat required careful negotiations, and the military conquest of Chosroes' powerful rival Baram. Three letters and two speeches are integral parts of this unfolding drama in Theophylact. The letters include one Baram wrote to Chosroes, Chosroes' reply, and finally a letter that Chosroes wrote to Maurice.⁵⁹ These exchanges began after Chosroes was driven out of Persia. The leader of a group of Chosroes' ambassadors made an eloquent speech to Maurice in the hope that the emperor would restore Chosroes.⁶⁰ Finally, and this is the longest speech included in the History, Domentianos, Bishop of Melitene, celebrated the recovery of Martyropolis from the Persians.⁶¹

However, none of these alleged documents seemed adequate to Theophanes. Theophanes does not even refer to the recovery of Martyropolis. For him the great accomplishment was the restoration of Chosroes, and the letters and speeches did not help to chronicle that event.

What kind of information did Theophanes reject? Baram's letter insulted Chosroes as Hormisdas' child and offered to appoint Chosroes a klimatarchas or provincial governor.⁶² Chosroes responded by wondering whether Baram's scribe had been drunk when he copied the letter.⁶³

The third letter, from Chosroes to Maurice, asked for help against the usurper Baram, who was backed by barbarian tribes dangerous to both Persian and Roman states.⁶⁴ The Persian ambassador asked Maurice, in the first speech after the letters, not to be like Alexander the Great and conquer Persia again.⁶⁵ Lastly, Dometianos' speech was that of a bishop thanking God for the return of Martyropolis, a city of great religious significance.⁶⁶ None of these historical documents offered the kind of factual material Theophanes was interested in, nor did any of the documents offer Theophanes a chronological indicator for A.M. 6081 (588). "And, thus," Theophanes wrote, "the Persian War of the Romans reached its conclusion."⁶⁷

This phrase is copied directly from Theophylact's History, but it is located in a significantly different position than in the original.⁶⁸ Theophylact proclaimed the Persian War over only after Chosroes had sent letters and gifts to St. Sergius at Sergiopolis in thanksgiving to the Christian God.⁶⁹ These letters, or more likely inscriptions on the gifts themselves, were historical documents attested to in other sources.⁷⁰ However, Theophanes did not believe that the Chosroes, whose own father Hormisdas had disowned him and had condemned his character, could possibly have made such offerings. Thus

Theophanes omitted these letters, along with the final military operations against Baram, but used Theophylact's own words to conclude this lengthy annal of the Chronographia. Theophylact, just as he ended the war, wrote that Chosroes told John, the leader of the troops of Armenia that were restoring Chosroes, that twenty-one years of Roman domination of Persia would be followed by thirty-five years of Persian domination of Rome.⁷¹ Theophanes despite his keen appreciation for a useful date took no notice of this prediction. Also, even though Theophylact often claimed that he was providing the original wording of some of these letters, Theophanes did not use them.⁷²

It was possible to tell the story of Maurice's final resolution of the Persian Wars without using these documents and without even referring to them. Theophanes did not use any of the speeches from the heart of Theophylact's History. He did not copy any of the letters for which Theophylact claimed authenticity from this period of the climax of the Persian War. The reason for this is that Theophanes' narrative reconstruction of this pivotal year did not require any clarification depending on what these documents offered. Extending from Hormisdas' speech which Theophanes did use to the end of A.M. 6081⁷³ is a long drought in the success of speeches and letters

from Theophylact making their way into the Chronographia. On the other hand, this passage is very direct, and summarizes all the important developments in Theophylact's narrative without any difficulties. Theophanes did not need the assistance here that speeches had given him at other places in his work with Theophylact.

"Remember the Present Day. The Romans Make
a Gift to you of Your Throne." (Narses
to Chosroes)

However Theophanes was not totally able to avoid putting some of the information from Theophylact into a speech, even in his straight-forward description of the restoration of Chosroes in 591. He did not use any of the several opportunities Theophylact's speeches and letters gave him. Instead he made up a speech to serve his purpose. Nothing better illustrates the different role speeches played in Theophanes than in Theophylact than the presence of a short statement by Narses invented by Theophanes when so many Theophylactian speeches were overlooked.

According to Theophanes, the Roman strategos who helped defeat Baram and actually put Chosroes back on his throne, said the following directly to Chosroes:

"Remember the present day; the Romans make a gift to you of your throne."⁷⁴ There is in fact no such quotation in

Theophylact. On first look, it may appear to be an addition by Theophanes from another source, but it could not have come from any other source. Close examination shows that it possesses all the characteristics of having been invented by Theophanes. The following is an explanation of how Theophanes used his creation.

Theophylact devoted a long passage to the defeat of Baram, to Chosroes' victory celebrations⁷⁵ and devoted a comment to how quickly Chosroes forgot the favor the Romans did him when he told the Romans to go home. Theophylact wrote that he showed the Romans insufficient honor.⁷⁶ The Roman generals pointed out this oversight to Chosroes, but Theophylact does not quote them.⁷⁷ If these narrative passages are compared to Narses' speech the only new element is Narses himself. Narses' speech in Theophanes does not, however, indicate that the Romans, or that Narses himself, had any specific grievances. Narses simply states the obvious fact that Chosroes owed his good fortune to the Romans. Despite the neutral attitude of Narses' words concerning Chosroes' gratitude (or ingratitude), the speech does not project a radically different viewpoint, such as we might expect from another (third) source. However, it remains a different point of view.

The Enhanced Role of Narses in Theophanes

Theophanes created these words for Narses because Narses had withstood the Persian elephants in the center phalanx and led the Roman army in a counter-attack which carried the day for Chosroes.⁷⁸ Needing someone to make the statement, Theophanes chose Narses. But why does Theophanes' quotation not accuse Chosroes of a failure to honor properly his saviours, the Romans? According to Theophanes, Narses said simply: "Remember the present day, the Romans make a gift to you of your throne".⁷⁹ There are no recriminations in this statement.

This is a more complicated problem than the simple matter of deciding why Theophanes gave Narses the speech. The fact is that the larger context in Theophylact's narrative is more ambiguous about the matter of Chosroes' ingratitude. Theophanes, if he was reading Theophylact carefully, may have assumed that some Romans stayed behind with Chosroes to protect him from internal treachery.⁸⁰ Maurice gave Chosroes a bodyguard because of his great love for Chosroes, or so Theophanes states. The sum of all these events is an ambiguous situation.

Theophylact's digressions further confuse us. Immediately after Theophylact reported that the Romans were not sufficiently honored by Chosroes, Theophylact

mentioned that Chosroes requested a bodyguard. At this point in the text this was only a request. Maurice did not agree to provide it immediately. The Romans had already gone home anyway. The granting of a bodyguard to Chosroes occurred later and had nothing to do with Chosroes' ingratitude towards the Roman army just after its victory. In fact, Theophylact interrupts the interval of time between the request for a bodyguard and Maurice's grant of one with several digressions. The first is the famous digression on the life of the Persian Christian saint Golindouch.⁸¹ Another digression is Chosroes' romance with Seirem the Christian, and a third is a comment about the Chaldaian Oracles by Chosroes in conversation with another Roman general John mentioned above. These digressions all indicate Chosroes' growing friendliness towards the Romans. Theophanes decided to omit all these digressions, telescoping Narses' speech, Maurice's grant of a bodyguard to Chosroes, and the end of all Persian matters into one event. But Theophanes was influenced by all of these things he was reading in Theophylact to conclude that Chosroes, friendly and in need of a Byzantine bodyguard, could not have insulted the Romans by hastening their departure. Narses' speech was fashioned by Theophanes because it summed up the entire situation at this juncture and located it at one point in time in Theophanes' annal. Moreover, the statement Theophanes invented seemed to him a plausible

version of what Narses or some other general would have said in those circumstances.

Theophanes easily found in Theophylact enough information to produce a concise narrative of Maurice's extraordinary restoration of Chosroes II. However the bulk of the remaining events in Theophylact are much less clear in Theophanes. To a large extent these events occur in the Balkans among the Avars and Slavs. Theophanes needed much more help from speeches to place these Avar and Slav matters in appropriate annals. The difficulties in Theophylact's narrative of the Avar Wars of Maurice, as described in Chapter One, play a special role in driving Theophanes to use speeches and fashion his own. Two quotations from this period were preserved in their essentials. The first is the 597 letter from Maurice to Priskos at Tsouroulllos.

Maurice's Letter to Priskos in
Tsouroulllos (597)

One important document that assisted Theophanes was the deceptive letter Maurice wrote to Priskos at the fortress Tsouroulllos.⁸² Priskos, the Byzantine general in Thrace, was under Avar siege and in a desperate situation, so the letter was intended to fall into Avar hands, which is what happened. The false order instructed

Priskos to persevere at Tsouroullos because another Roman army was moving to attack the Avar homeland beyond the Danube. When the khagan read the letter, he negotiated a quick truce with Priskos and rushed back home to protect Avar women and children. As was discussed in Chapter One, it was a brilliant tactical move that was part of the Roman approach to the Avars. Therefore the letter itself (as quoted by Theophylact) had for Theophanes all the marks of usefulness: it was short, clear, and summarized the situation exactly.

Theophanes used this letter to conclude annal A.M. 6084 (592). He gave it in full, making only cosmetic changes. In fact, the changes that Theophanes made demonstrate how carefully he studied this and other passages.⁸³ For Theophanes the letter summed up the desperate situation of the Romans without forcing him to explain in any greater detail the activities of the Avars. The letter gave him a precise location in time for these events and it explained when and how that year's campaign in Thrace ended. Moreover it provided explanatory data and was, therefore, more attractive to the chronicler than speeches and/or letters that reflected mostly atmosphere or sentiments.

Theophanes did not, one must notice, turn this incident into a miracle. Although he changed some parts

of it and stressed that Maurice "was at a loss what to do",⁸⁴ Theophanes did not give divine providence a role in delivering Thrace from invasion. The second direct borrowing from the Avar war period is equally revealing.

The Tale of Egyptian King Sesostris

Theophanes was more skeptical than his source Theophylact about one reported speech in particular. Theophylact and Theophanes both tell of an incident that occurred when Priskos made war on the Slavs while trying to keep the Avars at peace in 598. As with the Tsouroullos letter it is a case of an incident Theophanes used that explained a peace treaty.

Both Theophylact and Theophanes include the following facts. Theodore, a clever doctor, was sent by Priskos to reason with a khagan who had taken for himself the title of lord of all the nations.⁸⁵ Theodore told the khagan the story of Sesostris, the all-conquering Egyptian king, who yoked defeated kings to his chariot to pull him in a procession. The chariot made jerky progress because one of the kings persisted in looking back at the wheels. Sesostris asked the subject king why he did not cooperate, and the king answered with a riddle. Theophylact and Theophanes wrote two different versions of the prisoner's

response. Theophylact's was: "I am amazed at the movements of wheels, how anomalous the motion is. Those parts of them now in the air again are on the ground, and again the parts around our feet are raised up".⁸⁶

However Theophanes' captive king said "I marvel at the wheel not standing still and moving from one place to another, then humbling things on high and raising on high the humble".⁸⁷ Although the difference is not so dramatic in English, one notices that the wheel has become an active agent in place of symbolic "wheels" whose parts experience a rising and falling motion.

The first conclusion one can draw is that Theophanes chose to compose his own version of the story rather than repeat Theophylact's. His effort was more than a translation into simpler Greek, more than an attempt to disguise his source. Theophanes, furthermore, was not matching another version of the same story with one he found in Theophylact.⁸⁸ No analysis of this story can ever reveal Theophanes' intent; our purpose is rather to resolve how Theophanes understood the story by the changes he made in it.

Theophanes' wheel is not a vague metaphor for life; it is, if we judge by its language, a symbol for Christian fate and its active component, divine judgment. Theophanes' version of the Sesostriis story is a blunt adaptation of

Biblical statements that "The lofty will be brought low" (Isaiah 10.33), while the Lord "brings low and raises on high" (I Kings 2.7).⁸⁹ The reader is left thinking not of a chariot rolling along, raising and lowering the fortunes of parts of its wheels in a cyclical, repeating process, but, instead of a single point in time when the wheel will bring down the over-mighty and exalt the meek. Certainly this was not (in Theophylact) Theodore's meaning at all, and Theophanes' version could not have had the desired effect on the khagan of the Avars as the original in Theophylact.

Theophylact's khagan was "amazed at the good sense of the man, curbed his own vanity, ceased his brashness and restored matters to a peaceful state."⁹⁰ A literary-minded age like that of the early seventh century could produce a Theophylact, who might believe that an Avar khagan appreciated philosophical parable. Also in Theophylact, Theodore (the Byzantine ambassador) concluded his interview with the khagan with the statement that "nothing is more fickle than prosperity."⁹¹ Theophanes omitted this.

Even though he apparently liked the story itself, Theophanes swallowed none of Theophylact's philosophical conclusions. For him, the story became a statement of proper sentiments to present to a barbarian ruler. The

changes Theophanes introduced reflected his view that the treaty agreed to by the Khagan was not produced by the Sesostris tale. The khagan in Theophanes' view made peace because Priskos was willing to split the spoils that Priskos and the Romans had taken from the Slavs.⁹² As Theophanes imagined, the khagan "laughed slyly" after he heard the story of the Egyptian king.⁹³

Since the speech about Sesostris was not meant to persuade the khagan, the changes Theophanes made turned the speech into a prophecy and a threat. In the original story, Sesostris' reaction to the captive king's parable was the key. He was a powerful ruler who suddenly realized that the other kings had once been in the same position. Theophanes made no such analogy between the khagan and an all-conquering monarch. The wheel in Theophanes merely promised retribution for sins. I believe the changes that Theophanes made may correspond to his view of the Avars.⁹⁴ His Avars were threatened by the Ambassador Theodore with the retribution Theophanes knew would eventually be theirs, that is, the Avars would be destroyed (as happened in the eighth century). The Sesostris story was one example of a case in which Theophanes differed, consciously or unconsciously, with Theophylact on a fundamental assumption about their world.

Theophanes also used this story to conclude his annal for A.M. 6087 (595), even though the incident of which the Sesostris story was a part was not, however, the proper end of that year. The campaign of Priskos against the Avars ended when Priskos returned to Constantinople and was reproached by the emperor Maurice for having returned the spoils to the Avar khagan.⁹⁵ Because he valued the Sesostris "document" so highly, Theophanes ended the entire year with it. In fact, Priskos was replaced and events that Theophanes placed in the next year were actually continuations of the events surrounding the Sesostris story. Theophanes used a speech to end one of his annals and, thereby, made a chronological error. The actual full year involved was 598.⁹⁶

So far in the discussion of the Avar Wars of Maurice two documents have appeared in both Theophylact and Theophanes, the misleading letter sent to Priskos in Tsuroulllos and the Sesostris tale Theodore told the Khagan. Both of these proved very useful to Theophanes, although only after certain alterations. Coincidentally, both are instances when the Byzantines outsmarted the Avar khagan.

The Avar Kokh Wins a Point

On the other hand, when an Avar ambassador named Kokh made some telling points in Theophylact, Theophanes ignored them. Theophylact's Kokh said "we would not even

know how to break peace treaties, if we had not found you our teachers in treachery." ⁹⁷ This was one among a host of equally successful gibes. Moreover, this was another instance of a barbarian ambassador like Mebodes who was allowed to weaken the resolve of a Roman army in the field. ⁹⁸ Theophanes ignored this dimension of Kokh's speech and recorded in its place that the Avars came asking for a declaration of war. ⁹⁹ This speech seemed implausible to Theophanes, even farfetched.

Priskos (in Theophanes) answered directly to Kokh, "I am not here to make war against the Avars; I was sent by the Autocrat against the Slavic tribes." ¹⁰⁰ Thus Priskos was explaining to his soldiers why they were attacking the Slavs. The peace treaty with the Avars did not end the "Getic" (i.e. Slavic) war, ¹⁰¹ and the Roman soldiers needed to be reassured on this point. They, according to Theophylact, had been swayed otherwise by Kokh.

There were obviously doubts among the Romans as well as the Avars as to whether Priskos was right in pursuing the Slavs in 598. However, by the ninth century when Theophanes was writing, these doubts were long since forgotten, and it was easy for Theophanes to have his Priskos explain to Kokh that he came to battle the Slavs, not the Avars. By the ninth century the Slavs (i.e. the

Bulgarian-Slavic Empire) were established in their own right and the Avars were in the process of being totally subjugated by the Carolingian Franks.¹⁰² The alterations that Theophanes made are partly evidence of a historical reality which differed from that of the seventh century.

That Priskos' troops were mutinous, Theophanes knew from reading Theophylact. Soon after the Kokh incident (according to Theophylact) Priskos had to lecture his men at length about the discipline they must maintain to survive.¹⁰³ This speech Theophanes omitted as well, along with the other speeches by which Priskos rallied and controlled his men. Incidentally, applause supposedly broke out when Priskos lapsed into the Attic language of Themistocles;¹⁰⁴ classical Greece and Byzantium were at that moment in Thrace one. However Theophanes may have come to the conclusion that the report of the army's mutiny was simply a pretext for Theophylact's inclusion of the speech. Yet Theophanes' alterations and omissions so change the import of Theophylact as to erase any record of the discipline problems in Priskos' army in 598.

Conclusion

In looking over the materials discussed in this chapter one notices that the quotations Theophanes retained verbatim from Theophylact are few in number. Justin's speech heads the list, but Theophanes removed it to an entirely new context. The second most complete survival is the letter from Maurice to Priskos, at Tsouroulllos in 597. Another that Theophanes accepted was Hormisdas' speech against Chosroes II. All these have one common trait. They are statements of facts as well as speeches, and as such they can be used to convey necessary historical information. Theophanes believed them plausible because they were statements of fact that he could usefully record in the Chronographia.

The other speeches in Theophylact usually did not convey such historical information. Tiberius' speech, for example, which Theophylact placed at the very beginning of his History, offers no details about the preceding reign of Tiberius. Komentiolos' speech to the khagan was farfetched, but, more importantly for Theophanes, it added nothing to the record of the fall of Sirmium and treaty negotiations of 591-594. Moreover it did not meet Theophanes' chronological needs, so Theophanes simply omitted the Komentiolos speech altogether.

The oration of Mebodes to the Roman army became a speech which Theophanes invented and attributed to Philippikos, because although Theophanes believed the Roman army was reluctant to fight, he did not think that this reluctance was caused by Mebodes. With Philippikos' rebuttal Theophanes in effect tried to recreate the historical situation as it may have existed before Theophylact added the Mebodes speech, i.e. the status quo ante Theophylactum. Likewise, Theophanes omitted the argument of the strategos Justinian. Justinian argued that the army need not fear that the Persian King Chosroes II was leading the Persian army. Theophanes omitted this speech because the decree, that no Persian king would again go to war, sufficed for his purposes.

Theophanes not only omitted, he also invented. For example, Theophanes invented a statement for Narses, one which Theophanes felt should have been made, while he omitted the actual letters between Baram and Chosroes and those between Chosroes and Sergiopolis and even the sermon of Dometianos of Melitene. Finally, he made Theodore's Sesostris parable more appropriate for the situation in 598 as Theophanes may have understood it.

Thus speeches seem to have survived when they were useful to Theophanes' chronology and when they contained factual information that conformed to Theophanes' grasp

of the historical situation. Unfortunately, Theophanes' selectivity had nothing to do with the kind of critical evaluation which is necessary to meet the standards of modern historical verisimilitude. To expect the latter, however, is perhaps to expect too much of Theophanes.

In effect Theophanes' editorial decisions were not good ones. None of the items included were more worthy of quotation than those excluded. However the process by which we have arrived at this conclusion has allowed us to demonstrate how Theophanes worked. Taken individually, one might argue that this or that quotation came from another source or was verified independently by Theophanes. As a whole, however, they show Theophanes' overwhelming dependence on Theophylact's History.

The next chapter builds on the findings of this chapter, for we now consider the large number of quotations in Theophanes which, like Narses' statement in 591 and Philippikos' alleged exhortation in 583, were actually invented by Theophanes. We possess greater confidence for doing this, as we now appreciate the utility that quoted speech had for the chronicler.

¹Thucydides, *Peloponnesian Wars*, trans. Rex Warner, 48, I, 22, "In this history, I have made use of set speeches some of which were delivered just before and others during the war. I have found it difficult to remember the precise words used in the speeches I listened to my self and my various informants experienced the same difficulty; so my method has been, while keeping as closely as possible to the general sense of the words that were actually used, to make the speeches say what, in my opinion, was called for by the situation". Thus, Thucydides' speeches have two components: (1) there was a speech that someone, sometimes Thucydides himself, witnessed; (2) Thucydides tried to be as true to the original as possible within the restrictions of his own purpose in writing his history. Theophylact did not always adhere to the first requirement and he was not limited quite so strongly by the second.

²Theophylact, 169.11-15, ἡ δὲ τῆς ἀξιώσεως τοῦ τῶν Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐν τούτοις που συνετέτακτο· ἐπὶ λέξεως γὰρ προδῆσιν τὴν πρόσβυσιν ἀκαλλώπιστον ἀπόσεως, ὅπως τῇ ἀμαδίᾳ τῆς λέξεως τὸν νοῦν τῆς ἀξιώσεως ἀνεπιτάσσον ἐνοπιρῶμεθα.

³The letter from Chosroes to Sergiopolis mentioned *supra*, chap. i, p. 13 has a similar preface: ἐπιστολὴν δὲ ἔξεστειλεν Ἑλληνικῇ συμκράσει χρησάμενος. εἶχε δὲ ἡ ἐπιστολὴ ἐπὶ λέξεως οὕτως.... (Theophylact, 214.3-4).

⁴*Ibid.*, 132.17-22, οὐ καλλῶν τὸ τῆς λέξεως ἀκαλλῆς οὐδὲ τι μεταμορῶν τὸ μὴ κεκαλλιεπημένον τῆς ἀπόσεως, ἀλλὰ πού γυναικὴν τὴν τῶν ῥημάτων ἐκθεσιν ὑποστορέσω τοῖς ἀπηγήμασιν, ἵνα τῷ ἀναμφιβόλῳ καὶ ἀπαραιρέτῳ τῆς λέξεως, ὡς ἔχει ἀπόσεως, τὸ τῶν παρηκολουθησάντων προσέλθοι ἰσχύουτον.

⁵*Ibid.*

⁶*Ibid.*, 132.26-133.17 and Theophanes, 248.18-249.3. This speech is somewhat differently translated by Averil Cameron, "An Emperor's Abdication", *Byzantinoslavica* 37(1976), 161-167. She published four reports of this speech: that of John of Ephesus, that of the church historian Evagrius, that of Theophylact and that of Theophanes. There are really only three versions because Theophanes' comes from Theophylact's. "The interesting feature is the variety between the three versions, all of them arresting in themselves but quite different from each other", *Ibid.*, 162. It should be noted here that she does not mention another version of the speech, that of Michael the Syrian of the twelfth century (Michael the Syrian, 335).

Incidentally, Cameron believes that Theophylact's Justin speech is a virtual verbatim transcript: "Theophylact first apologizes for the uncouth style of Justin's speech, which he declares he will record exactly as it was delivered" (Cameron,

"An Emperor's Abdication", 165) and "Theophylact's, on the other hand, bears unmistakable marks of authenticity; even if the author did not specifically claim to be reporting the exact words of the emperor we should suspect that he was, for the abrupt style of the speech is utterly removed from Theophylact's flowery verbosity" (*Ibid.*, 166). But Theophylact did make such a claim and we must disagree that the style alone can prove authenticity.

⁷Theophylact, 133.20-22.

⁸John of Ephesus, trans. E.W. Brooks, 97.

⁹*Ibid.*, 93.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

¹¹Michael the Syrian, 335.

¹²Theophanes, 329-330 in annal A.M.6121 (630). The most recent study of Sergius and Heraclius is van Dieten, Geschichte der Patriarchen...

¹³Another view of Theophanes' handling of the Justin speech is that Theophanes was mechanical. Cf. Alan Cameron, Circus Factions: Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium (Oxford, 1976), 329, footnote 1, takes this view: "For example, he inserts the famous speech of Justin II... in 574... into an account of Tiberius' elevation to Augustus, which he mistakenly places in 577.... All these errors and contradictions could have been avoided if only Theophanes had taken the trouble to read the context in the passage of Simocatta from which he took the speech". This statement is not quite accurate: Theophanes located the speech in 578. He placed it there for a reason so that one cannot simply assume that Theophanes dumped this speech or any other entry randomly without regard to the context. This is a view of Theophanes that this dissertation seeks to dispel.

¹⁴Theophylact, 133.23.

¹⁵Theophanes, 247.28-31 (A.M. 6067, 574) at which time Justin adopted Tiberius, according to Theophanes, υποτομωμενος, and 249.22-23 (A.M. 6071, October of the 12th Indiction, 578) when Tiberius was crowned.

¹⁶Theophanes, 248.13-14 (A.M. 6070) for Eutychius' restoration. Theophanes, 240 (A.M. 6057, 565), April of the 13th Indiction, Justinian punished and exiled Eutychius to Amasea, but Justinian died soon thereafter in November of that same year, but in the 14th Indiction. As soon as Patriarch John III died, Justin restored Eutychius to his patriarchal throne. The Justinianic novelty was

Aphthartodocetism, the indestructability of Christ's flesh, which a later age could view to be a form of Monophysitism. Cf. Vita Eutychii, PG 86, 2313B. Averil Cameron, "The Empress Sophia", E 45(1975), 8, avers Eutychius did not win back the favor of Justin until 577, when he got back on his throne. The real reason was that John III had just died! If judged by their enemies, Justin and Eutychius were of the same party: Aitherios and Audios (Addaios) plotted against Justin the year after he came to power (Theophanes, 242.9-12); likewise, Aitherios and Addaios were the persecutors of Eutychius (Vita Eutychii, 2361A). One may suppose that Justin and Eutychius had a friendly relationship that Theophanes was able to detect from his sources.

17Theophanes, 247.30-31.

18Ibid., 248.17, ἀγαγὼν τὸν καίσαρα Τιβερίον.

19Ibid., 249.5.

20Theophanes, 242.3-4 (A.M. 6058, 566), ἦν δὲ ὁρθόδοξος πάνυ.

21Žičurov, Mesto "Xronografii"..., 9, "the 'tastes' of the chronicler are manifested here with particular clarity" (my translation from the Russian of the original).

22Theophylact, 39.17-42.11. Cf. Theophanes, 252.5-13.

23Theophylact, 41.18-20, θηρῶ παρὰ τῶν ὑψηλῶν ἀντὶ μὲν φόβου τὴν εὐνοίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κολακείας τίμα τὸν ἐλέγχον οἷα διδάσκαλον ἄριστον.

24Žičurov, Mesto "Xronografii"..., 11, "relations between subjects and their lord are expressed differently: if in the speech of Justin II these relations are presented from only one point of view, from the emperor's side (kindness of the emperor, justness of the emperor, compassion of the emperor), the speech of Tiberius is meant for the subjects' side, their 'goodwill' towards the emperor, his 'opposition'."

25Ibid., and in more definite terms in "Feofan - Kompiljator Feofilakta...", 205-206, "Having given special importance to the words of Justin, the compiler judged it imperative to preserve the form of the original".

26Theophanes, 252.5-13, August 14 of the 15th Indiction, 582: λαλῆραι μὴ δυνάμενος δι' ἐπαναγνωστικοῦ τὰ συμφέροντα τοῖς πράγμασι τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῷ λαῷ κατάδηλα πεποιήσας καὶ Μαυρίκιον τὸν ἴδιον γαμβρόν, βασιλεῖα ἀνηγόρευσεν.

27Ibid., 252.5-6.

²⁸Theophylact, 48.6-50.24, the flavor of the speech can be gotten at 50.14-16, ἐπώνηκε τοῖνυν ἐπὶ τὴν σαυτοῦ, ἣν καὶ σοὶ Ῥωμαῖοι περικυλίμηνται, καὶ περαιτέρω τῶν σὺν ὅρων τὴν σὴν μὴ μετοχέτευσε δύναμιν.

²⁹Ibid., 50.25-51.10.

³⁰Ibid., 269-271 and 285-286. Komentiolos is discussed supra, chap. i, pp. 60-61.

³¹Ibid., 45.1-2.

³²Ibid., 46-47.

³³Dölger, Regesten, 82, in the spring.

³⁴Theophanes, 252.32, οἱ πρὸ ὀλίγου χρόνου τὸ Σέρμιον χειρωσάμενοι, πόλιν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐπίσημον,....

³⁵Ibid., 253.11-14.

³⁶Ibid., ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἑλπίδιον τὸν πατρίκιον σὺν Κομεντιόλῳ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Χαγάνον ἐξαπέστειλεν. καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος ἐπὶ ταῖς τῶν πάντων συνθήκαις εἰρήνην ἀγειν καθυμολόγησεν.

³⁷Theophylact, 68.12-69.21 for Mebodes' speech and 69.22-70.20 for the effect on the Roman army.

³⁸Theophanes, 254.28-29, ...καὶ ἀδροίσας τὸ στυλτικὸν ἥρωτα, εἰ προθύμως ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον χωρῆσαι. The construction for expressing the future tense (underlined in the Greek) is common in Theophanes' Chronographia and serves as a further indication that Theophanes composed this statement himself.

³⁹Theophylact, 135.21-138.22.

⁴⁰The length is four full de Boor edition pages of twenty-six lines each.

⁴¹Theophylact, 136.17-20, μὴ παρατίττω τοὺς ἀριστεῖς αἱς ὑμῖς οἱ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἀναλκίστατα πληθεὶ περιποιούμενος καὶ μεγαλουργῶν καὶ τὰς ἀφ' οὗς ἀνασπῶν ὑπαικχευόμενός τε καὶ μέχρι τῶν λόγων κεκτημένος τὸ φρόνημα.

⁴²Theophanes, 250.29-30, διὰ τοῦτο λόγοις Ἰουστινιανὸς πρὸς τὰς δυνάμεις χρησάμενος ἀπέπαυσε τῆς δειλίας τὸ μάχημον.

⁴³Theophanes, 251.9-11 and Theophylact, 140.18-19; the same statement is made by Evagrius, 211.31-212.1. Evagrius could well be Theophylact's source for the Persian decree (cf. Peeters, "Les ex-voto de Khosrau...", 54-56).

44Theophylact, 155.8-158.6.

45Ibid., 157.12-20.

46Ibid., 157.19-22.

47Theophanes, 264.21-26.

48Ibid., 264.26-265.1.

49Theophylact, 157.22-23.

50Theophanes, 264.26, ἡξίου.

51Theophylact, 119.2-25. One should note that Theophanes does not include the fall of Martyropolis to the Persian king Hormisdas at the appropriate point in the narrative, when he was describing Hormisdas' victories as they happened (cf. Theophanes, 262.3-14). Martyropolis was lost because of the treachery of a certain Sittas (Theophylact, 119). Did this treachery offend Theophanes' patriotism?

52Theophylact, 121.23-122.7.

53Ibid., 122.6-7, "And once again the things of the Persians were well cared for and the monuments to Hormisdas' deeds were brilliant".

54For example, Theophanes, 476.3-5, the emperor Nicephorus, whom Theophanes excoriates, was able to depose the legitimate ruler ~~there~~ only "because of the numbers of our sins".

55Ibid., 264.27-28, ὡς φιλόδικον καὶ ἀπληστον καὶ αἰμοχαρῆ, ὑπεροπτικὸν τε καὶ ὑβριστὴν καὶ φιλοπόλεμον. Can one judge whether Theophanes' wording is merely translation or "improvement"? φιλοπόλεμος = φιλοπόλεμος (Theophylact, 157.12-20 for his original); φιλόδικον = φίλος τῶν δικῶν; ἀπληστον = τὴν ὑπερβολὴν φιλήδονος πέφυκεν; αἰμοχαρῆ = τῆς εἰρήνης ἀνάρκετος; ὑπεροπτικὸν = τὸν τρόπον ἐστὶν ἀγένητος.

56Theophylact, 158.11-160.3.

57Ibid., 158.12-13, ἀδικεῖ καὶ νῦν βιαιοῦσιν ὁ τύραννος.

58Theophanes, 265.1-3, ἀντέλεγε.

59Theophylact, 163.5-26; 164.17-165.13; and 169.16-171.10.

60Ibid., 174.3-178.12.

61Ibid., 183.26-187.20. This speech was about King David, Babylonian gods and Old Testament prophets. It ought to have appealed to Theophanes' tastes, if these played any role in the choices he made.

- ⁶²Ibid., 163.9.
- ⁶³Ibid., 164.26-165.2.
- ⁶⁴Ibid., 170.15-20.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., 175.10-23. This bizarre oration is discussed by Bury, *II*, 111 and by M.J. Higgins, "International Relations at the Close of the Sixth Century", *CHR* 27(1941), 279-315. Why would a Persian bring up Alexander the Great? Perhaps Theophylact meant the sentiment expressed to be read by Heraclius?
- ⁶⁶Ibid., 183.26-187.20.
- ⁶⁷Theophanes, 267.11-15.
- ⁶⁸See Theophylact, 216.11-13 for the point at which Theophylact's Persian war ends.
- ⁶⁹Ibid., 212.6-216.5.
- ⁷⁰Cf. Peeters, "Les ex-voto...", 44, "The one to whom one wanted to attribute the honor of having conserved them simply falsified them".
- ⁷¹Theophylact, 216.21-217.3.
- ⁷²These "prefaces" are considered supra, chap. iii, p. 104 and footnotes 2 and 3.
- ⁷³Theophanes, 265.3-267.15.
- ⁷⁴Ibid., 267.10-11.
- ⁷⁵Theophylact, 209. Theophanes used the same expression for these celebrations as Theophylact. Cf. Theophanes, 267.9 and Theophylact, 209.17, ἐπινικία εἰσιτία.
- ⁷⁶Theophylact, 209.23-29.
- ⁷⁷Ibid., 209.26-210.3.
- ⁷⁸Ibid., 207.22-30.
- ⁷⁹Theophanes, 267.10-11.
- ⁸⁰Ibid., 267.11-15, Χαράρης δὲ τὴν δολοφονίαν δεδουκώς ἐζητεῖ Μαυρίκιον χιλίους Ῥωμαίους εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ ἔχειν· ὁ δὲ Μαυρίκιος ἀγαπῶν πολλὴν πρὸς τὸν βαρβαρὸν κεκτημένος ἐπλήρου τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ, καὶ οὕτως περσινὸς τῶν Ῥωμαίων κατεπέπαυτο πόλεμος.

⁸¹Theophylact, 210.8-212.5.

⁸²*Ibid.*, 229.16-230.4, "Πρόσω τῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ στρατηγῷ τῆς περὶ τὴν θρόων ἐκατέρως δυνάμεως· ἡ τῶν ἀλιτηρίων βαρβάρων ἔγχειρησις θρύλον τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἐνεποίησε τῇ ἡμῶν εὐσεβείᾳ, τοῦνατίον μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπιμελεστέρους πρὸς τὴν τούτων ἀπάλειαν ἀπειργάσατο. καὶ τοῦτο γινώσκω ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης, ὅτι ὁμοίως μετ' αἰσχύνης καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποβαλλόμενος ἔχει ὁ χαγάνος ἀποχωρῆσαι εἰς τὴν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων αὐτῷ ἀφιερωθεῖσαν χώραν. διὰ τοῦτο ἡμεῖς τῷ εὐτυχεστάτῳ στρατῷ κατερέρησε ἡ σὴ ἐνδοξότης ἐν Τζουρουλλῷ τῇ πόλει καὶ ὁῖσε περιρρεβεῖν τοὺς ἐπικατάρτους Ἀβάρους. ἐπέμειμεν γὰρ διὰ θαλάσσης πλοῖα καὶ στρατόν, ἵνα ἀνελεῖσιν εἰς τὰς φασιλίας αὐτῶν καὶ πάσας αἰχμαλωτεύσωσιν, καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ἀναγομένη μετὰ αἰχύνης καὶ μεγάλης ζημίας ὁ ἐπικατάρτος τῶν Ἀβάρων ἡγουμένος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γῆν ὑποστρέψαι ἀπὸ τῆς καθ' ἡμᾶς πολιτείας.

⁸³Theophanes, 270.7-18 is a shorter, but nearly verbatim, version of Theophylact's letter.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, 270.4.

⁸⁵Theophylact, 243.5 and Theophanes, 273.12-13.

⁸⁶Theophylact, 244.11-14, τεταύματα τῶν τροχῶν τὰ κινήματα, ἀνάμικτον ἔχει τὴν κίνησιν. τὰ τοίνυν τρύτων μέρη μεταωρούμενα αὐθις καταχθονία γίνονται, καὶ ἐπιπλύν τὰ περιπέτλια μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπαιρίζεται.

⁸⁷Theophanes, 273.24-25, τὸν τροχὸν θαυμαζῶ ἀστατοῦντα καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως κινούμενον, καὶ ποτε μὲν τὰ ὕψηλα ταπεινούντα, αὐθις δὲ τὰ ταπεινὰ ἀνυψούντα. Notice also the startling similarity between the changes Theophanes made in the Sesostris story and his description of Eusebius' shaky orthodoxy (Theophanes, 34.25-27), ἡ δὲ ἀλήθεια ξεικνύσιν αὐτὸν ἀστατοῦντα τὸν λογισμόν καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς φερόμενον.

⁸⁸Sesostris was known to George Synkellos, 111 and 112-113, as an Egyptian king of great height who ruled forty years and conquered all Asia in nine, set up monuments throughout Europe to the well-born of men and ignoble of women and was thought to be first after Osiris by Egyptians. Theophanes' reading of and rendition of the Sesostris story is not influenced by this information. Nor should he reveal this influence unless one hoped to show that George Synkellos actually wrote the chronicle of Theophanes. See *infra*, chap. viii.

⁸⁹Isaiah 10.33, οἱ ὕψηλοι ταπεινωθήσονται. Psalms 87(88).15, ὑψώσεις δὲ ἐταπεινώσεις. I Kings 2.7, ταπεινοὶ καὶ ἀνίψοι.

- ⁹⁰Theophylact, 244.18-20.
- ⁹¹Ibid., 244.17.
- ⁹²Theophanes, 273.28-29.
- ⁹³Ibid., 273.27-28, ὑπογελάσας.
- ⁹⁴We are not suggesting he disliked them, only that he differed.
- ⁹⁵Theophylact, 245.
- ⁹⁶Theophanes, 272.31-274.4.
- ⁹⁷Theophylact, 231.19-20.
- ⁹⁸Ibid., 232.5-7.
- ⁹⁹Theophanes, 270.25, ἔναρξεν τῷ πολέμῳ.
- ¹⁰⁰Ibid., 270.26-28.
- ¹⁰¹Theophylact, 232.7-10.
- ¹⁰²Ostrogorsky, History of the Byzantine State, 162-163, summarizes the significance of Charlemagne's conquest of the Avars after 792.
- ¹⁰³Theophylact, 233.20-234.19.
- ¹⁰⁴Ibid., 23.19-27, τοῖνυν Πρίσκος κράτησας τοῖς λόγοις...
 ἔτι γοῦν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τοῖς λόγοις ἐπικυμαίνοντος καὶ τὰ θεμι-
 στοκλέους Ῥωμαϊκῶς ἁπτικῆς ζωντος, κρότος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἀνεθορεν.

CHAPTER IV

THE COMPOSITION OF THEOPHANES' OWN QUOTED SPEECH

This chapter considers nine quotations included by Theophanes in the Chronographia. Of these nine, seven are concluded to be of Theophanes' composition. The remaining two prove to be additions from another source. However, these two are shown to be added erroneously to occasions for which Theophylact provided a quoted speech. All nine quotations illustrate Theophanes' overwhelming dependence on Theophylact. The source of the two interpolated quotations is discussed later on in Chapter Five.

These nine quotations come from the period 597-602 in Maurice's reign, a period discussed in the first chapter of this dissertation. As we have seen, Theophylact depended mostly on first-hand informants for this period, and as a result, he included quoted speech less. This is apparently due to the fact that his sources were contemporary witnesses rather than other historians like John of Epiphaneia. Another factor may be that Theophylact did not regard the years of Maurice's decline and fall as worthy of oratory.

Contrariwise, Theophanes used quotations as much if not more than for earlier periods taken from Theophylact's

History. Though they are all very short one or two sentence declarations, the quotations summarize a great deal of the material found in Theophylact.¹ As the number of speeches in Theophylact diminished and the complexity of the events of 597-602 exceeded that of earlier periods in Theophylact, Theophanes attached a quotation to as many occasions on which a discussion took place in Theophylact as he could.

This chapter concludes with some suggestions about the biblical content of those quotations which we have proven to be Theophanes'. It is ironic that Theophanes is more effective, and altogether more expressive, than the embellished rhetoric of Theophylact.

First Quotation: Maurice to Germanos

"O Germanos, there are two bases for my suspicion: the letters of the army to you and the sparing of your horses that were let out in the suburbs by the army. For, they took everything else, but they spared yours. Spare me your excuse-making; nothing is sweeter than dying by the sword."²

In 602, when Maurice faced an army rebellion in Thrace, he looked for conspirators at home. Germanos was father-in-law to Theodosios, Maurice's son and the heir apparent. While hunting outside Constantinople, either Theodosios or Germanos was offered the throne by an embassy from the

army.³ Maurice learned about this interview,⁴ and confronted Germanos as a traitor, offering as a "basis" for his "suspicion" a letter from the army and the sparing of Germanos' horses.⁵ Germanos defended himself at length, but could not satisfy the emperor. Then Theophylact quoted Maurice's exact words prefaced with an acknowledgement to his source, "those in office say that Maurice said"⁶: "Spare me your excuse-making, nothing is sweeter than dying by the sword", the last line of Theophanes' quotation.⁷

The similarity of the longer Theophanes statement to the whole incident in Theophylact is obvious. Theophanes uses many of the same words in his quote that are found nearby in Theophylact's narrative.⁸ Theophylact, on the other hand, clearly separated Maurice's exact words from a general record of the conversation, indicating a distinction between the true quote and the indirect report. Theophanes ignored the clear signal. Why? Did Theophanes have a more complete record of the conversation than "those in office" who told Theophylact Maurice's words? Obviously, he did not.

Theophanes' speech was, in fact, invented solely from information supplied to him by Theophylact. If Theophanes' version was a better (more complete) first-hand report of

the interview of Germanos with Maurice than Theophylact's, it ought to include the words Germanos spoke in his own defence because Germanos' protests of innocence are mentioned by Theophylact, but not supplied by Theophanes.⁹ Without a role for Germanos in this dialogue, Theophanes' quotation must be judged a summary of this incident. Moreover, if Theophylact did not exist to corroborate Theophanes' ninth century Chronographia, one could not be at all certain that Maurice even told Germanos, "spare me your excuse-making, nothing is sweeter than dying by the sword" because of the way Theophanes invented the rest of the quotation. This would be unfortunate because the statement is one of the best-documented and revealing statements by Maurice in Theophylact's History, that is, "those in office" reported it to Theophylact and it gives the flavor of Maurice's senescence.

Despite this weakness in Theophanes' approach, he is found once more to have taken the mere mention of a speech or dialogue and actually created a lengthy speech which served the purpose of replacing and making briefer the narrative source.

Second Quotation: Peter, Maurice's Brother

"Not if the autocrat should come
will I spare these men."¹⁰

Peter the Strategos, brother of Maurice, replaced Priskos after Theodore told the Avar khagan the Sesostriis story. A peace with the Avars that dated back to the faked letter Maurice sent in August of 598 to Priskos in Tsouroullis prevailed in the Balkans. Avaria and Romania recognized one another. Peter made this statement, according to Theophanes, when he decided to break the peace with the Avars by attacking 1000 "Bulgars" he had come upon near the Danubian town of Asemos.¹¹ The Bulgarians were not ready for battle and they sent men reminding the Romans that peace existed. Peter could not resist the opportunity for an easy kill and attacked them.

Nothing exactly like this statement can be found in Theophylact. It appears to have a separate origin. Theophylact did, however, make clear to Theophanes the moment when the statement was made. Peter, in Theophylact's History, "made known" (i.e. "said")¹² to his men that they should destroy those barbarians.¹³

In Theophylact, the larger picture was that Peter was actively warring on the Slavs while a treaty with the

Avars was in force.¹⁴ Peter advanced from the mouth of the Danube inland on the left bank of that river.¹⁵ Patrolling from Danubian town to Danubian town, Peter sealed off Romania from Slav incursions. He came upon Slavs, 500 in number and loaded down with plunder. These he attacked and eventually defeated. Before the attack, the Slavs murdered their adult male prisoners.¹⁶ After this success, Peter was wounded in a hunting accident, and Maurice insulted Peter for inactivity during the general's recovery.¹⁷ This caused Peter, who was now wounded in both body and pride, to pursue the Slavs beyond Thrace. Peter only returned to Thrace when Maurice ordered him back because the emperor had heard that the Slavs were about to attack Byzantium itself.¹⁸ It was in circumstances of this sort that he encountered the thousand unarmed and peaceable Bulgars.¹⁹

Theophanes saw defiance of the emperor in the statement that Peter made when he was deciding whether or not to attack the Bulgarians. This is first implied when Theophanes summarized the affair of Peter's wound. Theophanes combined Maurice's insults to Peter with a later letter ordering Peter back to Thrace. "And the autocrat, hearing that the Slavic tribes were moving against Byzantium,

battered him with very shameful letters and unendurable insults."²⁰ Two separate parts of Theophylact's narrative become one in Theophanes. There is no possibility here that Theophanes had access to a second version of the same incidents because there is no new information, only the distortion of Theophylact's old information. This conflation of events set the stage for Peter's statement, "not even if the autocrat should come, will I spare these." Theophylact narrated only that "Peter, ignoring their irenic words, ordered those in the advance party to immediately destroy the barbarians."²¹ Battle was joined, the Romans attacked in force, but the thousand Bulgars repelled the attack and escaped to tell the Avar khagan what had happened. All of this adds up to the conclusion that Theophanes understood Theophylact to mean that Peter had defied Maurice's orders to keep peace with the Avars. Moreover, Peter was bent on avenging all those murdered by the Slavs earlier in the campaign season. For these two reasons Theophanes composed a statement that illustrates both anger at Maurice and a merciless policy toward the Slavs. The quotation is produced by Theophanes solely from his erroneous understanding of Theophylact. The source of his error may be Theophanes' misunderstanding

about the status of the Bulgars in the late sixth century. To Theophanes, who viewed events from the late ninth century, the Bulgars were the leading element in a Balkan Slavic empire. They were Slavs. Therefore, if Peter ran into some unarmed Bulgars, he was not likely to refrain from trying to destroy some Slavs. To Theophylact, the Bulgars were a separate Turkic people akin to the Avars, whom Peter the Strategos knew not to be Slavs at all. When he attacked them, Peter clearly violated the treaty between Avars and Romans.

The events that followed the decision to attack these Bulgars made sharper the contrast between Theophylact's actual narrative and Theophanes' reading of it. The attack was a blunder. The Bulgars defeated the Romans. Peter had the leader of the men whom he had sent on the attack stripped and whipped.²² When the Bulgars returned to the khagan, that Avar prince protested and forced Peter to buy his forgiveness with extensive gifts. Theophylact's Peter calmed the khagan down with "persuasive arguments."²³ However, Theophanes' Peter "used deceitful arguments, claiming he did not know about the attack."²⁴ The difference is small between the two, but this difference adds to the overall independence of Theophanes' interpretation.

Peter, in Theophanes, outraged that the Bulgars escaped, was forced to maintain the peace with the khagan at any price because Maurice, too, did not want war to break out. Only when the Bulgars, who were Slavs to Theophanes, managed to reach the khagan did Peter begin to worry about the Avar peace. There is, therefore, no need to hypothesize a 'missing' source for these words of Peter's. They are Theophanes' own.²⁵ They put a long story into a short annal entry.

Third Quotation: Avar Khagan to Priskos

"It is not right to hunt on another's territory."²⁶

Theophanes claimed that the khagan of the Avars said this when Priskos told him that the Romans were hunting above the Danube.²⁷ In 599, the year after Peter's attack on the Bulgars and generally disastrous command, Priskos returned to this command and took his reorganized army above the Danube. The khagan responded to this apparent provocation with an embassy that argued to Priskos that he was breaking the peace when he moved beyond the river. The Khagan stated that Priskos had entered onto another's land. Priskos at first told the Avars that the land was good

for hunting because there was water and pasturage for the horses. In the course of the discussion, Priskos argued that the land did not really belong to the Avars, who had held it only by conquest.²⁸ To the Avar embassy, Priskos made contemptuous reference to the khagan's "flight" from the East (referring to the steppe origins of the Avars).²⁹ Although Theophanes gave a very faithful paraphrase of Priskos' claims, he could not resist summing things up in a brief speech. We know from Theophylact that the khagan did complain about Priskos' presence on his territory; the Avar leader did indicate that Priskos risked breaking the peace. But, he did not swallow Priskos' initial statement and answer meekly, "it is not right to hunt on another's territory", as Theophanes sums up the situation.

Either Theophanes was simple-minded or careless or he thought the khagan was simple-minded (enough to believe Priskos). One can be sure that Theophanes did not himself believe Priskos, because Theophanes added the word [προεφαλοῦτο]³⁰, "made up a pretext" when Priskos said that he came to hunt [διακυνήγῃσα]³¹. This was certainly implied by Theophylact, who did not need to tell his readers the absurdity of Priskos' claim. To conclude

that Theophanes meant to make the khagan gullible is one possibility, but it is probably more important to stress the utility such a speech had for Theophanes. The statement reduced the size of the incident itself. But, perhaps inadvertently, Theophanes caused the khagan to appear to be more concerned about his game preserves than about the security of Avaria. The counterfeit nature of this statement adds one more invented statement to the list of bogus documents in the Chronographia.

Fourth Quotation: Avar Khagan to Priskos

"You are trying to take one city from us. You will see momentarily fifty Roman cities enslaved by the Avars."³²

In retaliation for Priskos' presence above the Danube "for the hunt" the khagan attacked Singidunum on the upper Danube, destroying its walls and carrying off its population to be resettled somewhere in "enemy territory."³³ Upon hearing the news Priskos advanced by fast boat to Constantiola. There, from his boat, he was able to shout to the Khagan, who remained on a high bank above the river. This interview is the one to which Theophanes added the above prediction of the Avar khagan. Our purpose is to show that the khagan could not have made this statement and

that Theophanes invented it.

In Theophylact, the khagan opens the interview by telling Priskos that the Romans were "strangers to the Danube"³⁴ and that the area was Avar by right of conquest.³⁵ At this point, Priskos delivers a rather long statement, the length of which makes this entire shouting match at the river's edge somewhat suspect. In Theophanes' version there is some of what the khagan said, but Priskos' long speech demanding the return of Singidunum is greatly reduced in length.³⁶ According to Theophylact, Priskos' speech so enraged the khagan that he broke off the discussion, promising to destroy many Roman cities.³⁷

The khagan's promise is what Theophanes turned into a statement of new importance. Or was there another record which said that the khagan threatened to destroy or enslave fifty cities which is the gist of Theophanes' version? There are reflections of Theophylact's Priskos speech in this short statement, "you are trying to take one city from us; you will see in a short while fifty Roman cities enslaved by the Avars,"³⁸ but two key parts of this 'quote' are not remotely implied by the events which provided the occasion for the statement that Theophanes attributes to the khagan. These key words are "enslaved" and "fifty". They show that

Theophanes meant this Avar threat to reflect as much what the Avars did later as what they threatened to do. Only a matter of days after Priskos' second-in-command Gudwin recaptured Singidunum, the khagan openly broke the peace and occupied Dalmatia.³⁹ The Avars in Dalmatia proceeded to conquer and occupy Roman territory and take Roman cities. The quotation which Theophanes composed reflected this later Avar conquest.

The fact that this quotation relates directly to events that followed can be proved. First, the Avars proceeded to "enslave" Dalmatia, as the khagan threatened. Secondly, they besieged and took forty fortresses (phrouria) in an area called Bogkeis.⁴⁰ This second statement would have no demonstrable relationship to the figure "fifty" which Theophanes put in the khagan's threat, if there was not in Theophanes a record of his actual understanding of the Avar campaign in Dalmatia. Theophanes states that "the khagan assembled his forces and advanced into Dalmatia, reached the city of Balkē and destroyed all forty cities around it."⁴¹ He thus transformed Theophylact's forty fortresses into cities and assumed Bogkeis/Balkē to be the central city of the area. This adds up to at least forty-one cities and explains why

Theophanes gave the number fifty to the khagan. This figure gave the statement of the Avar a solid factual basis that none of the associated speeches contained. The case of the khagan's boast at Constantiola affirms once again that Theophanes took occasions on which speeches were made and filled them with factual materials useful to his Chronographia.

From our more critical perspective, we can readily see the khagan's speech was entirely implausible. The fact is that the khagan did not advance on Dalmatia until after Priskos recaptured Singidunum.⁴² According to Theophylact, "The khagan was embittered by these events, and, hardening his heart, he sent heralds to Priskos, openly breaking the treaty covenants."⁴³ In Theophanes the khagan's statement, made before the Romans took back Singidunum, predicts an immediate advance against Roman cities. By attempting to lend substance to the khagan's statement, Theophanes inadvertently reveals the anachronistic and counterfeit nature of the quotation attributed to the khagan.

Fifth Quotation: Avar Khagan to Harmatos

"God will judge between me and Maurice the autocrat; for he broke the peace; I will give the captives back to him if I receive from him one nomisma for each soul."⁴⁴

The first third of this speech appears verbatim in Theophylact's Roman History. The second third of it is not directly stated by the khagan, but is narrated by Theophylact instead.⁴⁵ The third part of the speech - the ransom - is completely new. The Roman response to the suggested ransom was negative. Maurice refused to pay even one-fourth of the amount demanded so that the outraged khagan killed all the captives.⁴⁶

The question of a ransom for captives is in no respect part of the negotiations between the khagan and a Roman named Harmatos as reported by Theophylact. These negotiations ended an Avar war that had brought the Avars almost to the Long Walls of Constantinople. In the resulting treaty both sides recognized the Ister River (the Danube) to be a dividing line between them. The right to cross this river in order to pursue Slavs was also sworn to by both sides in the treaty.⁴⁷ In light of the other changes Theophanes made in these negotiations, it is plain that Theophanes misunderstood this treaty. He wrote that "they swore not to cross the Ister River."⁴⁸ This was simply incorrect. Whether by choice or by simple error, Theophanes so revised this treaty, as to make any Roman campaign against the Slavs beyond the Danube a violation of the Roman

treaty with the Avars. When such a campaign occurred next in Theophylact's history, Theophanes completely misinterpreted it. He neither understood how Theophylact had defined Maurice's foreign policy, nor did he understand the status of the Slavs in the late sixth century. Maurice's refusal to ransom some of his own soldiers thus seemed to Theophanes further proof that Maurice was treacherous to friend and foe alike.

There was, however, no such ransom offer. Did Theophanes invent the comment about a price per Roman head to fit his own (mis)understanding of Theophylact? Theophanes may have gotten information about the ransom offer from another source, but this seems unlikely because a ransom offer does not make any sense at this point in Theophylact's narrative (or even in Theophanes')! Moreover, no large number of captives are specifically mentioned, as having been captured in the first place.

Theophylact's history and Theophanes' chronicle had reached the same date in the Avar Wars of Maurice. After the Avars invaded Dalmatia in 600, a declared war continued throughout 600 and into the spring of 601. One significant lull in the war was an Eastertide truce between the Avars and Priskos' army. The khagan provided

food [in exchange for Indian spices] to a starving Roman army trapped at the time in a town on the lower Danube.⁴⁹ Soon after this Easter truce Komentiolos advanced with his own army from Constantinople towards the Haemus Mountains. The khagan went out to meet Komentiolos as soon as he heard about his march, but Komentiolos refused to fight. Instead Komentiolos secretly negotiated with the khagan by night courier,⁵⁰ but left his army unprepared for the Avar attack he alone knew was coming.⁵¹ When the inevitable battle arrived, he escaped by pretending to be away hunting with a few picked men.⁵² In addition, Theophanes claimed that Komentiolos was sent from Constantinople to join forces with Priskos,⁵³ and added a reason for Komentiolos' apparant betrayal of his army. Maurice ordered Komentiolos to hand over the soldiers involved to the enemy because of their rebelliousness.⁵⁴

Some or all of these factors (depending on whether one chooses to believe Theophanes) produced the total defeat of Komentiolos' army. The army was even foiled in its attempt to cut off the Avars at the mountain passes in the Haemus chain, which resulted in the Avars marching all the way to Drizipera. According to Theophylact, the Romans were so panicked by the Avar attack on Drizipera

that they discussed transferring the capital to Chalcedon.⁵⁵

The progress of the Avars was halted only by the deaths of seven sons of the khagan; plague struck them at Drizipera. It was at this time, according only to Theophanes, that the khagan demanded the ransom of one nomisma per head for the Romans held captive.⁵⁶

This ransom offer makes sense only if Theophanes' two additions to Theophylact's basic plot are true. Only if Komentiolos actually was sent to link up with Priskos' army (Theophanes' first addition) could one conclude that the entire Roman army in Thrace was to be betrayed to the Avars, as Theophanes concluded. Then, if Maurice had, in fact, instructed Komentiolos to betray a Roman army because of its rebelliousness (Theophanes' second addition), one could be certain that Priskos' Thracian army is meant. This army was often rebellious (it produced Phocas, who overthrew Maurice), and a year or so later Maurice had good reason to want to destroy this army. Therefore, having followed Theophanes' logic this far, Maurice hoped that Komentiolos would rid him of a threat (i.e. the army of Thrace) to his throne. The last step in Theophanes' restoration of the missing links to Theophylact's history was the refusal to pay a ransom for these soldiers.

Maurice did not choose to ransom men from this Thracian army, men he had already betrayed, and "because of this," Theophanes concluded, "a great hatred of Maurice was set in motion."⁵⁷

The speech Theophanes gave the khagan fits Theophanes' reconstruction perfectly, but it is either out of place or fictional, for there was no army that deserved to be betrayed by Komentiolos on Maurice's behalf. The Avars were not at peace; they were about to invade. Komentiolos came out of Constantinople with a separate army, one that was supposed either to fortify some key mountain passes or to attack Avaria while the Avars were besieging Priskos. Komentiolos did not expect to be chased and attacked by the khagan, nor did he command a large army. Komentiolos' treachery was based on an allegation that he arranged for his own escape from a trap. He returned to Constantinople in disgrace with a select remnant of his troops. There is no indication that he ever linked up, or even tried to link up with Priskos. There is also no suggestion that a significant body of prisoners was taken by the Avars as a result of Komentiolos' cowardice. Many were killed defending the mountain passes, but Theophylact did not mention prisoners. The possibility exists that Maurice

refused to ransom captives at this time, but it is not made more likely by Theophanes' efforts.

Despite these inconsistencies with the original story in Theophylact, Theophanes' version is the product of his own effort to match different points of view concerning the same basic story. Theophanes also admits to speculating, for when he states that Maurice sent Komentiolos to join Priskos, he qualifies the statement with "supposedly."⁵⁸ Plainly some other source reported that Komentiolos was sent for that purpose, since Theophylact reports that he was not. Even the statement that Maurice ordered Komentiolos to betray rebellious troops is accompanied by the warning "some say"⁵⁹ this to be true. Striving to be shrewd and honest at the same time, Theophanes inadvertently transformed Komentiolos' personal cowardice into a major plot against the army associated with Maurice's eventual overthrow. In the process of this creation, Theophanes spread the events of 602 back over the preceding two years of Maurice's reign. When some soldiers went to Constantinople to complain to Maurice about Komentiolos,⁶⁰ Maurice listened to their claims of treachery, but still restored Komentiolos to his post. Meanwhile, Priskos remained in

command over his own army in Thrace.

Phocas, the centurion in Priskos' army who overthrew Maurice, would not have left Priskos' army to protest Komentiolos' treachery, even though Theophanes linked Phocas to this soldierly delegation to Maurice.⁶¹ Only when Priskos was replaced or betrayed would Phocas have cause to overthrow Maurice. Later, there was an occasion when Komentiolos did try to bring about the destruction of Priskos, and it occurred when the two generals were on a joint campaign which originated on the island Biminakion and moved across the Danube against the Avars and the Slavs.⁶² After that ignominious performance by Komentiolos (he pretended to be ill and stayed behind on the island), both the army and people felt confident in their denunciations of Komentiolos and Maurice. Even though this episode between Komentiolos and Priskos occurred in the year directly before Maurice's 602 fall, Theophanes still chose to link his additional information to the khagan's speech, probably because in this later campaign from Biminikion, Theophylact mentions no instance when the khagan and Roman generals parleyed.

The khagan's comments to the Roman ambassador Harmatos were the last words attributed by Theophylact

to the Avar ruler. This was the last time Theophanes could have possibly found for using the ransom offer in his Chronographia. This alone illustrates Theophanes' heavy dependence on speeches for the location of information in his chronicle. Theophanes would not apparently invent another meeting with the khagan at a later time that was not reported by Theophylact. Theophanes was too committed to Theophylact's version for that. All the same, Theophanes had this information about a refusal to pay a ransom. His placement of the information in the Chronographia was dictated by Theophylact.

Sixth Quotation: Peter to Goudouis

"The emperor's orders to spend the winter on others' territory are very troubling to me."⁶³

In Theophylact, Maurice's brother Peter, and his second-in-command Goudouis, spent the latter part of 602 fighting the Slavs. Peter had replaced Priskos as strategos and had special orders from Maurice to reduce the expenditures for the army during the winter. Since Priskos was no longer present, the army soon lost its

loyalty to this general who had for so long shared their hardships in Thrace.

Both Theophylact and Theophanes report a speech that Peter made to Goudouis after the army had moved to open rebellion against Peter's authority. Theophanes' version of Peter's comments to Goudouis began with the lines quoted above, lines not in Theophylact's rendition of Peter's speech. The source of this short addition to the Peter speech is the only question that needs to be resolved here.

The Roman army did not want to cross the Danube in October because the soldiers wanted to preserve their booty, because their horses were weak, and because barbarians awaited them on the other side of the river.⁶⁴ When Priskos was their general, the army had spent spring and summer there on campaign, but not the winter months. When it was forced to do so, the army rebelled. It was Phocas who presented the army's demands to return home for the winter.⁶⁵ Theophanes summarized the particulars of the situation in Peter's lament that "my orders to winter in other people's land are very burdensome for me," a statement that was obviously written by the same author whose khagan said, "It is wrong to hunt on other

people's land."⁶⁶ The signature of Theophanes is present in both statements.

Seventh Quotation: The Mob to Maurice

"Anyone loving you, Maurice Marcionist, may not keep his skin."⁶⁷

This denunciation of Maurice was shouted by "the people," according to Theophanes, after the crowd in Constantinople had convinced Germanos (the father-in-law of Maurice's son Theodosius mentioned in the first of these eight speeches) to return to his sanctuary in Hagia Sophia.⁶⁸ The shout is not in Theophylact's History, but the ongoing story of Germanos' flight from Maurice and Maurice's unpopularity because of it are both explained in greater detail by Theophylact. Theophanes' addition, if it came from another source, is a valuable addition to the record. It could be a statement in a record of deme participation in the politics of the city. Despite appearances, I do not believe there was such a second source.

First, one may look to Theophylact's narrative. Germanos fled to Hagia Sophia, but was persuaded to leave by imperial guards. The presence of these guards around

Hagia Sophia caused in the city a tumult which centered in the courtyard of Hagia Sophia. There, a priest named Andreas gave this warning to Germanos: "Return to the church, Germanos, save your soul, death is what you are bringing on to yourself."⁶⁹ The crowd gained in strength and "denounced Maurice and plastered him with very powerful insults, and enlisted him on the catalogue of the Marcionists; this is a heresy absurd and simple with a certain foolish piety."⁷⁰ Then citizens, who had manned the walls to defend the capital against the advancing army of the usurper Phocas, joined the crowd, and left the city undefended. This mob proceeded to burn down the house⁷¹ of the Praetorian Prefect Constantine Lardys, a trusted associate of Maurice.⁷²

Who Loves Maurice, Constantine Lardys?

In addition to its general plot, Theophanes repeated three specific elements from this story. Maurice was called a Marcionist; those guarding the walls left their posts; and the house of Constantine Lardys was burned down.⁷³ Theophanes added another interesting fact, that the Green faction burned down Constantine Lardys' house.⁷⁴ This

mention of the Greens, added to the apparently verbatim quotation of the mob's denunciation of Maurice, points to a second source. This source must have linked the denunciation of Maurice directly to the attack on Constantine's house because it was Constantine who loved Maurice. Theophanes simply revised Theophylact's text because Constantine was known to be an enemy of the Greens.⁷⁵ The "May he not have his skin who loves you" is a direct threat on Constantine Lardys' life. The Greens especially hated him so they burned down his house. Therefore, using this new information, Theophanes simply completed Theophylact's story.

Or Germanos?

In Theophylact, Germanos, whom the crowd was protecting, was a passionate Blue partisan. The Greens neither trusted nor liked him.⁷⁶ Probably the most one can say is that in reality this mob was neither Blue nor Green. The mob only attacked Maurice, saying nothing about Constantine. Constantine Lardys was attacked for his connections with Maurice and for his position as his Praetorian Prefect, not for any harm he may have done the Greens. Besides,

Theophanes' distillation claims that someone who loves, not someone loved by, Maurice is in trouble. Maurice loved Constantine Lardys; Theophylact said nothing about whether Constantine had any great love for Maurice. Theophanes' speech may refer to someone else entirely.

The speech can be shown to refer to Germanos himself. Germanos, a man who was trying to show that he loved Maurice, was pursued across Constantinople by an emperor intending to kill him. Germanos had already, according to Theophylact, saved the life of Maurice's son on one occasion.⁷⁷ However, Maurice whipped his son for informing Germanos that the emperor was going to arrest him.⁷⁸ The ingratitude of Maurice is strongly suggested in Theophylact's narrative, and thus the speech, if we refer it to Germanos, should be translated as an ironic observation, that "one loving you may not keep his skin". In other words, someone who shows loyalty and love for the autocrat Maurice will suffer the same fate as did Germanos, the emperor's loyal friend.

The advantage of this translation and interpretation of the speech is that it does not rely on a second source. Theophanes wrote these lines himself on the basis of the warning that the priest gave to Germanos in the courtyard

of Hagia Sophia. Theophanes' quote summed up the whole episode of Germanós' flight better than the priest's warning to Germanos that his life was in danger, although Theophanes' quotation was inspired by the priest's warning as the occasion for the statement. In Theophanes' text, the Germanos decision to stay in Hagia Sophia and the denunciation of Maurice are both in a single sentence. The burning of Constantine Lardy's house is in the next sentence, and is a separate occurrence.

Maurice the Marcianist, Why?

Does the epithet "Marcianist" derive from another source? Theophanes took this directly from Theophylact. There is no reason to suppose that Theophanes gave it any special interpretation. One doubts that he knew what it would have referred to in the sixth and seventh centuries. He probably thought it was the religious heresy that bears the name. He would, however, have been surprised by the way Theophylact described it to be "absurd and simple with a certain foolish piety". This is not the usual manner in which heresies were described by Byzantines like Theophylact. Since Theophylact did not discuss any other

heresies in his entirely secular history, one cannot know whether he would have described an ancient and feared heresy in such a mild fashion.

However, what Theophylact meant by Marcianist may have a slight bearing on a final evaluation of the speech Theophanes invented for the crowd. In such a denunciation, especially in the iconoclastic era of which Theophanes was so much a part, one would call the emperor any sort of heretic.⁷⁹ After reading Theophylact, Theophanes assumed that the mob defending Germanos in 602 had done the same.

This may not be at all what Theophylact referred to when he wrote that the mob linked Maurice to the Marcianists. According to Theophanes, the mob blasphemed Maurice, threw insults at him, and claimed that he was a Marcianist, three separate acts. If, in fact, the mention of the Marcianists was one of the insults or part of the blasphemy or denunciation, Theophylact would have subordinated this part of his statement to the first two. The linking of Maurice to the Marcianists appears to be some sort of separate activity on the part of the crowd. It may refer to some ritual aspect of mob life in Byzantium by which the crowd made a political statement. Marcianists could as easily be associates of the emperor

Marcian as minions of the heretic Marcian.⁸⁰ Now, for the sake of argument, if the statement about Marcianists does not refer to the arch-heretic Marcian and his progeny, this would be one more indication that Theophanes had no separate source for the quotation, "anyone loving you may not keep his skin, Maurice Marcianist".

The reason for this is that such a statement would not have had any life, if it referred somehow to an emperor. Theophylact's use of the term in such a roundabout fashion does not suggest that he was disguising a verbatim quotation, but rather that he was making a clever allusion to something else altogether. It would have been Theophylact's style, for example, to state that Maurice was thought by the mob to be too old in just such terms. Marcian was an old man when he became emperor. Maurice was quite old and stood in the way of his son's succession.

This is at least as reasonable an explanation for Theophylact's reference to the Marcianists. Were they ridiculous because they were puritanical old men who disapproved the hippodrome games, or some such trait,

making them hateful to the crowd?

The reason for doubt about a reference to the Marcianist heresy is the language Theophylact used both to describe the 'heresy' and to indicate Maurice's membership in it. The heresy was 'ridiculous' to Theophylact, and Maurice was attached to it as though he were joining a club or faction. In fact, the same word Theophylact used for heresy in this passage he applied to the Blue faction to which Germanos was attached.⁸¹ Germanos sought the support of the Greens, but they could not believe that Germanos could ever cease being a passionate Blue. The word Theophylact used to describe Germanos' attachment to the Blues was dogma, his belief or credo.⁸² Germanos, literally speaking, belonged to a haíresis with a clearcut dogma. This does not mean that the factions or colors had specific religious affiliations. There is no basis for the claim that either faction was not 'orthodox.'⁸³ It means that the devotion of Byzantines to their Green, Blue, or other colors was likened to religious fervor by Theophylact in the History. That the people defending Germanos and denouncing Maurice "enlisted Maurice on the membership list of the Marcianists" in the same way they

would have claimed Germanos was a Blue or somebody else was a Green may prove exactly that. The Marcianists were a faction - either a particular color or a party opposed to all colors. In other words, Maurice had lost his popularity with the urban or hippodrome crowd. The dispute among scholars whether Maurice was a Green or Blue must contend with the possibility that Maurice was drummed out of his faction.⁸⁴

Eighth Quotation

"Do not allow the disorder and disobedience of ignorant soldiers to excite you."⁸⁵

Maurice made this public declaration himself. He was attempting to reassure the hippodrome crowd that there was nothing to fear from the army then in revolt under the leadership of Phocas. Theophanes fashioned this imperial speech from Theophylact's narrative. Otherwise, since there is no imperial mandator, one must suppose that Maurice personally addressed his people.

In Theophylact, Maurice suppressed news of his army revolt and put on horse races in an attempt to carry on business as usual. He passed the word by heralds through the Hippodrome that the crowd need not be agitated.

by the disorderliness of a few soldiers.⁸⁶ Keeping approximately the same content, Theophanes turned the heralds' message into a speech that Maurice made in between the acclamations of the Green and Blue factions. Theophanes turned the incident into a classic hippodrome ceremony. Not only did Theophanes compose Maurice's short speech, he included a Green acclamation of Maurice that is not mentioned by Theophylact. The Green acclamation came first. Then Maurice spoke. Last, the Blue deme made their acclamation which is the only part of the 'exchange' recorded by Theophylact.

If one takes a close look at the three speeches, one notices that Maurice's speech had little to do with the sentiments of either of the two demes. Maurice's words are attempts to play down the importance of the army revolt. The Blue speech (and the Green one to a lesser extent) reveals that those in the hippodrome were fully aware of the seriousness of Phocas' rebellion.⁸⁷ It refers directly to a usurper. In his attempt to summarize this episode, Theophanes invented a speech for Maurice that fit the context poorly indeed. The demes were not in the grip of panic.

The larger significance of Maurice's 'speech' is to introduce the topic of popular and factional acclamations as they were reported by Theophanes. These make up a significant portion of speeches that made their way into the Chronographia and have been accorded special consideration by Byzantinists.⁸⁸ The present study does no more than reconsider those acclamations that have been variously attributed to the reign of Maurice.

Blue and Green Faction Acclamations

Blue Faction

God, O Autocrat, who commanded you to be basileus,
will make everyone warring against
your reign submit to you. And if, Worthy One,
he is a Roman who does you wrong, He will make
him submit to your service without bloodshed.⁸⁹

Green Faction

Constantine and Domentziolos, lord thrice-august,
Are annoying to your own deme
In order that Kroukēs be our demarch for our sins.
God who created everything
Will make everyone submit to you without blood,
External enemy and internal rebel.⁹⁰

The acclamation of the Green faction is the second quotation that must have come from another source. The Green acclamation is not in Theophylact, but seems to belong with its Blue counterpart. On the other hand, it contains facts that Theophanes could not have gleaned from Theophylact's History.

Mention of the demarch Kroukēs is the major new item. The demarch of the Greens in Theophylact was not Kroukēs, but Sergius, who after this speech was made remained demarch at least until Maurice was overthrown. 'Constantine' could refer to Constantine Lardys, the praetorian prefect and senatorial friend of Maurice. Domentziolos, however, is also a puzzle, although he could be most anyone. What is known about Kroukēs and Domentziolos from other sources does not help. Kroukēs was demarch of the Greens in the reign of Phocas, according to the Paschal Chronicle.⁹¹ A Domentziolos was also prominent in Phocas' reign. He was Phocas' brother, magistros and curopalates.⁹² This may be strong evidence that that people mentioned by the Greens in this speech existed, but, if one were to rely on other sources, one would want to conclude that the speech refers to Phocas' reign after 603, rather than to

Maurice's. The only connection is the name Constantine, which may refer to Constantine Lardys, but then there are always plenty of men named Constantine.

Theophanes transformed the situation, described by Theophylact in the Roman History, from a Blue speech into a full-fledged hippodrome dialogue. The Greens spoke first, then the emperor Maurice made the speech (the eighth quotation above) that no one should be excited by the army's rebellion, after which finally the Blues spoke.⁹³ Theophanes sought a well-rounded triangular dialogue to replace the Blue speech. He had good reason to suspect that the Greens also gave Maurice their support because immediately after the Blue speech in Theophylact Maurice called in the Green demarch Sergius and the Blue demarch Kosmas to report to him their enrollments. Maurice wished to use the demes in defense of the city.⁹⁴ Since both demes were called upon for help, so both ought to have said something in the Hippodrome.

The second half of the Green speech "God who created everything will make everyone submit to you without blood, external enemy and internal rebel" echoes the Blue speech. It, however, speaks about external and internal foes alike [ἀλλόθλον and ἐμπόλιον].

The Blue speech, on the other hand, refers specifically to a usurper. Those at war against Maurice's reign itself [πολεμοῦντα] and one who is a Roman are internal enemies only. The internal enemies a Roman emperor would seek to subdue without bloodshed [χωρίς ἀιμάτων], but not foreign ones. If the Blue speech existed first, one could easily explain how the second half of the Green speech, the speech that only Theophanes quoted, could have been formulated to create a matched pair of speeches. It employed the same rhythm and many of the same key words, but it did not really make the same point. However it is forced to fit into the same context as the Blues speech, even though no one would predict victory "without bloodshed" over external enemies like the Avars and Persians.

"Kroukēs", "Domentziolos" and "Constantine" stand in the way of any final conclusion that Theophanes invented this speech, as he did the others. Such speeches are not found elsewhere in Theophylact's narrative. Must every narrative of Maurice's last years include the classic three-part Hippodrome scene recorded only in part by Theophylact, but restored by Theophanes, who had an additional source that reported all three speeches, even that of the emperor Maurice, whom Theophylact had reported merely sent

around messengers to calm the crowd? Cameron's recent study on the factions accepted this obligation to believe Theophanes.⁹⁵ Cameron was also interested in the metrical pattern of some deme acclamations,⁹⁶ a problem first investigated by P. Mass.⁹⁷ The Blue speech was more metrical than the Green one, because "the Greens have taken the opportunity of incorporating some personal complaints into what is in other respects much the same set of stock formulae differently arranged."⁹⁸ Cameron and Mass were interested in the spontaneity of this Green acclamation, in what the Greens could invent on the spot, as an example of how the demes operated. However, the Blue speech cannot be fairly described as a set of "stock formulae". It makes very specific reference to support for an emperor attacked by a usurper - not the subject of an everyday, ceremonial chant. "Kroukēs," "Domentziolus," and "Constantine" were not mentioned by the Green faction, but rather were inserted by Theophanes.

This conclusion does not deny that the Greens at some time complained to the emperor about Domentziolus and Constantine, who sought to make Kroukēs Green demarch. These were real people and this a real event of the reign of Phocas. The only explanation that takes into account

all the contradictions within the general context of how Theophanes treated his other speeches is one which places the first half of the Green acclamation dates in the earliest years of Phocas.

Theophanes' Biblical Language

Before drawing any final conclusions about Theophanes' use and handling of speeches, there are these few additional passages in which the hand of Theophanes can be inferred by several changes in Theophylact's diction. As in the Sesostriis story, Theophanes replaced Theophylact's language with Biblical imagery. This was the case, for example, when Priskos and the khagan had their conversation (discussed earlier in this chapter) from Priskos' boat in the Danube to the Avar-occupied riverbank at Constantiola. Theophylact's khagan said simply "God will judge between the Romans and me" and "retribution from God will one day be demanding accounts."⁹⁹ Theophylact's rhetoric lacks the vitality that Theophanes was able to give the same incident, even though Theophanes used some of the same words (ἐκζητέω, in particular, "to demand an accounting"):

"God will demand an accounting for the blood of the army of the Romans and of my army from his hands."¹⁰⁰

Theophanes used the same verb, but gave it a direct object, and he took his inspiration from II Kings 4.11: "Shall I not now require his blood at your hand and destroy you from the face of the earth."¹⁰¹ King David provided a much more effective argument than Theophylact's good, but limp, Greek. Theophanes preferred using his own idiom. Such changes hardly prove that Theophanes was a monk, but they do point to someone with a keen sense of how to use quoted material in a chronicle.

Another example illustrates this even better. Peter, the strategos and brother of Maurice, spoke to Goudouis about his brother Maurice's errors (this was mentioned earlier). Theophylact wrote that Peter called "greed" the "acropolis"¹⁰² of evils, referring to Maurice's greed in ordering Peter's troops to winter beyond the Danube in order to save on food costs. This statement, however, only implies that greed is the worst of all evils. Acropolis is a word suggesting a hierarchy. Theophanes changed "acropolis" to "mother"¹⁰³ of all evils, replacing a mere

hierarchy with the generative principle. All Maurice's problems now came from one source, his greed, and this greed spawned all the other evils of Maurice's reign. We are here reminded of I Timothy 6.10, which states that the "seed of all evils is greed".¹⁰⁴ In cases like this the contrast between the writing styles of Theophanes and Theophylact is quite clear, but why did Theophanes prefer Old Testament imagery?

Theophanes may use Old Testament language in his compositions because that language was more effective than Theophylact's rhetoric. His use of a simpler Greek was not necessarily that of a monk or ecclesiastic. The Sesostriis tale, Peter's lamentation about the greediness of Maurice's policies, and the khagan's warnings were, quite simply, improved by Theophanes. They were not Christianized or "de-Atticized" as much as appreciated in value.

Conclusion

The nine quotations that made up most of this chapter together show Theophanes' dependence almost exclusively on Theophylact. The seven quotations which Theophanes

invented illustrate that most are there because of Theophanes' desire to summarize quickly and effectively. The two interpolated quotes show that Theophanes worked first with Theophylact's History and then sought to interpolate other materials into Theophylact's version of events. Such quotations from other sources were also valued for their documentary value.

Having established how few and how distinct are interpolations into Theophylact's account of the reign of Maurice, we may now turn to the next two chapters in which we recover the source of these and other interpolations and explain how the erroneous interpolations came about. We learn that these interpolations, like Theophanes' chronology and his compositions, are the product of Theophanes' assiduousness rather than inattentiveness.

Footnotes to Chapter IV

¹Theophanes, 288.1-5; 275.19-20; 276.26; 277.6-8; 277.3; 286.27-287.2; 288.17-18; 287.17-18; 287.12-16 and 18-21.

²*Ibid.*, 288.1-5, ὦ Γερμανέ, δύο εἰσὶ τεκμήρια τῆς ὑπονοίας μου· τὰ τε ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς σε γράμματα, καὶ τοῦ φείδεσθαι τὸν λαὸν τῆς ἀγελαίας ἵππου τῆς νεμομένης σοι εἰς τὰ προσόστεια. πάντα γὰρ διέπασαν, καὶ τῶν σὺν ἐφέισατο. φείδου, Γερμανέ, τοῦ μηκύνειν τὸν λόγον, οὐδὲν ἥδύτερον τοῦ διὰ ξίφους τεθνήσκειν.

³Theophylact, 298.1-7.

⁴*Ibid.*, 298.8.

⁵*Ibid.*, 298.12-20, ὑπονοίας, τεκμήριον.

⁶*Ibid.*, 298.22, ὥς ἐν τέλει λέγουσι τὸν Μαυρίκιον φῆσαι.

⁷*Ibid.*, 298.22-24 and Theophanes, 288.5-6.

⁸Theophanes, 288.1-2, δύο εἰσὶ τεκμήρια τῆς υπονοίας μου = Theophylact, 298.15-16.

⁹Theophylact, 298.20-22.

¹⁰Theophanes, 275.19-20, οὐδε εἰ ὁ αυτοκράτωρ παρέλθῃ, τούτων φείσομαι.

¹¹Theophylact, 251.12-16 and Theophanes, 275.14-19.

¹²Theophylact, 251.20, ἐδήλου.

¹³*Ibid.*, 251.18-21, καὶ οὖν ὁ Πέτρος τοὺς εἰρηναίους λόγους ἀποσεισάμενος τοῖς προδέουσιν ἐδήλου φωνῇ μαχαίρας τοὺς βαρβάρους παραχρῆμα ἀλλύειν.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, 251.11-12, ἄτε δὲ εἰρήνης Ῥωμαίους καὶ Χαγάνῳ ὑπόσσης.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, 247.10-26.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 247.18-21 and Theophanes, 274.18-21.

¹⁷Theophylact, 248.23-24 and Theophanes, 274.26-27; for Maurice's complaint, Theophylact, 248.27 and Theophanes, 274.27-28.

¹⁸Theophylact, 248.27-249.4.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, 251.22. Theophylact indicated that the Bulgars fought heroically with their hands.

²⁰Theophanes, 274.28-30, ὁ δὲ αὐτοκράτωρ γραμίμασιν αἰσχίστοις καὶ θυνειδιμοῖς ἀπορήτοις αὐτὸν περιέβαλεν, ἡκούων Σηλαβινὰ ἐθνη κατὰ τοῦ Βυζαντίου κινεῖσθαι.

²¹Theophylact, 251.18-21.

²²*Ibid.*, 251.21-252.1 and Theophanes, 275.20-23.

²³Theophylact, 252.5-6, πιθανοῖς λόγοις ἀπεβουκόλησε καὶ ἀγνοῖαν τοῦ σφάλματος προσέφερετο.

²⁴Theophanes, 275.26, ὑπατηλοῖς λόγοις χρησάμενος μὴ εἰδέναι τὴν κίνησιν διΐσχυριζετο.

²⁵Theophanes was fond of the verb φαίδομαι. Compare Maurice's statement to Germanos (Theophanes, 288.1-5) and also Justinian's (Justinian II, 685-695, 705-711) notorious statement (Theophanes, 373.27-28).

²⁶Theophanes, 276.27-28, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐν ἄλλοτρίῳ τόπῳ κυνηγεῖν.

²⁷*Ibid.*, 276.26-27 and Theophylact, 256.17-19.

²⁸Theophylact, 256.21-23, ἔφασκε τοίνυν ὁ Πρίσκος Ῥωμαϊκὸν ὑπεῖναι τὸ ἔδαφος, ὃ δὲ βαρβαρὸς ὅπλοις καὶ νόμοις πολέμων Ῥωμαίους ἀποκτείνεσθαι τοῦτο.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 256.25 and Theophanes, 276.29.

³⁰Theophanes, 276.26, πρόσφασις was a word used often by Theophanes (cf. Theophanes, 369.6).

³¹*Ibid.*, 276.27.

³²*Ibid.*, 277.6-8, οὐ μίαν πόλιν ἐγχειρεῖς παρ' ἡμῶν λαβεῖν. ὀφεί μετ' ὀλίγον πεντήκοντα πόλεις Ῥωμαϊκῶς δουλομένης Ἀβάροις.

³³Theophylact, 262.17-20 and Theophanes, 276.29-31, although ὁ δὲ βαρβαρὸς τῆς Σιγγιδόνος τὸ τεῖχος κατέλυσεν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων γῆν ἔχαιρε seems to be a misreading of Theophylact. Theophanes has the Avars advance into Roman territory rather than, as Theophylact wrote, Romans being taken as captives into enemy territory (πολεμίων).

³⁴Theophylact, 263.6, ἕνως ὁ Ἰστρος ὑμῖν τὸ ρόδιον τοῦτου πολέμου.

³⁵*Ibid.*, 263.7-8, ὅπλοις ἐκτεταμένθα τοῦτον, τῷ δόρατι τοῦτον ἐδουλώσαμεθα.

³⁶Theophanes, 277.1-6.

³⁷Theophylact, 264.18-20.

³⁸Theophanes, 277.6-8, for the Greek text *supra*, chap. iv, footnote 32. A persuasive argument for the direct influence of Theophylact's Priskos speech on the composition by Theophanes of the khagan's short speech is the use of the verb form ὄψεαι in both texts. Priskos told the Avar "you will see (ὄψεαι) tomorrow a sullen day in sharp contrast to the rosy day today". Theophanes' khagan answered Theophylact's Priskos using the same verb form. Theophanes, revealed in this way that he composed his speeches as he went along under the influence of Theophylact's narrative and vocabulary. The suggestion here is buttressed by the fact that in all other known case where Theophanes composed a speech in which he used the future tense he used a έχω plus a verb construction (*supra*, chap. iii, footnote 38).

³⁹Theophylact, 265.1-9. Theophanes did not quote Theophylact verbatim or paraphrase his text to record the retaking of Singidunum. Theophanes read ahead and found a passage describing the fall of Bogkeis in Dalmatīa and the occupation of forty fortresses (Theophylact, 265.8-9). The words chosen by Theophanes show that he depended directly on Theophylact. παράσθησμενος τὴν πόλιν τοῖς μηχανήμασι τεσσαράκοντα ἐξέπυρρῃσε αρούρια, is Theophylact's description. Theophanes, 277.8-9 uses the same words: ὁ δὲ Πρίσκος διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὰς νῆας τῇ Σιγγιδονί παρὰσθησμενος ταύτην ἐπύρρῃσε. However, Theophylact did not indicate that the Romans besieged Singidunum (there were still Romans inside), nor that the Romans destroyed anything. We can see once more how Theophanes was under the influence of his source.

⁴⁰Theophylact, 255.5-9.

⁴¹Theophanes, 277.19-21.

⁴²Theophylact, 265.1-3.

⁴³*Ibid.*

⁴⁴Theophanes, 280.2-4, κρινεῖ ὁ θεὸς ἀνα μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ Μαυρικίου τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος· αὐτὸς γὰρ τὴν εἰρήνην διελύσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ κατὰ ψυχὴν νόμισμα ἐν κοιμώμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ. Compare Theophanes, 277.2 and 280.2.

⁴⁵Theophylact, 272.24-273.3.

⁴⁶Theophanes, 280.5-8.

⁴⁷Theophylact, 273.7-11.

- ⁴⁸Theophanes, 280.8-10.
- ⁴⁹Theophylact, 267.7-268.5.
- ⁵⁰Theophylact, 268.16-18 and Theophanes, 278.31-32.
- ⁵¹Theophylact, 268.18-269.19 and Theophanes, 278.34-279.9.
- ⁵²Theophylact, 269.23-270.1
- ⁵³Theophanes, 278.28-30, ὁ δὲ Μαυρίκιος ἐπὶ συνάρσει θῆθεν τοῦ Προσκοῦ Κομεντιόλου ἀπεστείλε μετὰ πεζικῆς δυνάμεως.
- ⁵⁴Theophanes, 278.32-34, ὥστε δὲ τινες τὸν Μαυρίκιον ὑποδέσθαι τῷ Κομεντιόλῳ, ὥπως τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν στρατεῦμα παραδώσῃ πολεμοῖς διὰ τὰς ἀταξίας αὐτῶν.
- ⁵⁵Theophylact, 271.22-272.2.
- ⁵⁶Bury, II(1889), 86, "In the year 599 he refused to ransom 12,000 captives from the chagan of the Avars, who consequently put them to death... but it has been conjectured that many of the prisoners were probably deserters".
- ⁵⁷Theophanes, 280.10-20, ἐκ τούτου πολὺ μῖσος ἐκινήθη κατὰ Μαυρικίου... Phocas was introduced by Theophanes here - prematurely. Maurice's unpopularity may date only from a food shortage in the winter of 601-02. Only months later in the fall of 602 did the army rebel because Maurice wanted them to spend the winter beyond the Danube.
- ⁵⁸Theophanes, 278.29, θῆθεν. Theophanes often used θῆθεν in the Chronographia.
- ⁵⁹Theophanes, 278.32, ὥστε δὲ τινες.
- ⁶⁰Theophylact, 284.23-285.4.
- ⁶¹Theophanes, 280.13-17.
- ⁶²Theophylact, 285.4-290.27.
- ⁶³Theophanes, 286.27-287.2, λίαν μοι βαρύτερα τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προστάγματα ἐπὶ ἁλλοτρίᾳ γῆς χειράσαι Ῥωμαίους, καὶ τὸ παροῦσαι χαλεπὸν, καὶ τὸ ὑπακούσαι δεινότερον. οὐδὲν καλὸν τίκτει φιλαργυρία, μῆτηρ δὲ πάντων τῶν κακῶν καθεστῆκεν. ταύτην νοσῶν δὲ ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ τῶν μεγίστων κακῶν αἴτιος τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις γίνεται.
- ⁶⁴Theophylact, 293.23-29.
- ⁶⁵Ibid., 295.9-10.

⁶⁶Theophanes, 276.26-27, οὐ δίκαιόν ἐστιν ἐν αλλοτρίῳ τόπῳ κυνηγεῖν.

⁶⁷Theophanes, 288.17-18, μὴ σχολῆν δερμα ὁ φιλῶν σε, Μαυρίκιε Μαρκιανιστά.

⁶⁸Ibid., 288.13-17.

⁶⁹Theophylact, 300.6-7.

⁷⁰Ibid., 300.9-13, τὰ δὲ πλήθη συρρεῦσαντα ἐβλασφήμουν εἰς τὸν αὐτοκράτορα καὶ μεγίσταις ὕβρεσι τὸν Μαυρίκιον ἐβαλлон τῷ τε τῶν Μαρκιανιστῶν καταλόγῳ συνέταττον, αἵρεσις δὲ αὕτη μετὰ τίνος μακρᾶς εὐλαβείας εὐήθης τε καὶ καταγέλαστος.

⁷¹Ibid., 300.18, τῷ παμμάγῳ πυρὶ καταφλέγουσιν.

⁷²Ibid., 300.13-24.

⁷³Theophanes, 288.17-21.

⁷⁴Ibid., 288.19-20.

⁷⁵Ibid., 287.13-14.

⁷⁶Theophylact, 302.13, οὐκ ἂν μεταβολὴν τῆς αἵρέσεως ὁ Γερμανὸς ποιήσεται πώποτε, οὔτε μεταθήσοι τὸ δόγμα διὰ τὸ ἐς ἅπαν εὐπαιδῶς διακρίσθαι περὶ τὴν τῶν λεγομένων Βενέτων προσπάθειαν.

⁷⁷Ibid., 291.19-20.

⁷⁸Ibid., 299.24-25.

⁷⁹Theophanes, 181.30-184.1, the hippodrome dialogue associated with the Nika Revolt. Cf. Appendix C of Cameron's Circus Factions, 318-333 for a long discussion of such a story in Theophanes. P. Maas and Cameron believe the dialogue has nothing to do with Nika and that the story is original to Theophanes - despite its presence in the Chronicon Paschale, especially 324-325.

⁸⁰Marcian (451-457), old senator married by Pulcheria for reasons of state, Vasiliev, I, 104.

⁸¹Theophylact, 302.13.

⁸²Ibid., 302.14-16.

⁸³Cameron, Circus Factions, 126-154.

⁸⁴Dölger, BZ 36(1937), 542-543 argued that Maurice was a Blue; Cameron lists all the scholarship on the subject of Maurice as a Green, *Circus Factions*, 128. Justin II was partial to neither faction. He told the Greens to pretend Justinian was still alive and the Blues to remember that Justinian was now dead(Theophanes, 243.4-9 in A.M. 6061, 568).

⁸⁵Theophanes, 287.16-18.

⁸⁶Theophylact, 296.23-24.

⁸⁷Theophylact, 296.27-297.3, "ὁ θεός αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ κελεύσας σε βασιλεῦσιν, ὑποτάξει σοι πάντα τὸν πολεμουῦντα τὴν βασιλείαν σου. εἰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγνακμονὴν σε εἰς δουλείαν σου τούτον ὑποτάξει χωρὶς αἱμάτων.

⁸⁸Cameron, *Circus Factions*. This recent work provides all the relevant bibliography on the vast subject of the factions.

⁸⁹Theophylact, 296.27-297.3. See *supra*, chap. iv, footnote 47 for the Greek.

⁹⁰Theophanes, 287.12-16, "ὁ δὲ δῆμος τῶν Πρασίνων ἔκραζε λέγων, "Κωνσταντῖνος καὶ Δομεντζιόλος, δεσποτὰ Ῥωμαίων τρισυγγαστε, τῷ οἰκείῳ σου δῆμῳ παρενοχλοῦσιν, ἵνα ὁ Κρούκης διοικήσῃ, εἰς ἃς ἔχομεν ταμάρτιας, ὁ θεός, ὁ πάντα δημιουργήσας, ὑποτάξει σοι πάντα ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολεμὸν ἐμαυλίσεν τε καὶ ἄλλοφυλόν χωρὶς αἱμάτων".

⁹¹*Chronicon Paschale* (Bonn ed.) 6955-696.2, John Kroukis (κρούκης) was burned by Phocas after a deme uprising. The uprising involved burning buildings along the Mesa. Kroukis was burned in reprisal on that spot. The deme statement (from the Greens) is clearly a repudiation of their own *demarch* to Phocas, not Maurice.

⁹²Theophanes, 292.2 under A.M. 6095 (603) and 292.28 under A.M. 6096 (604). Phocas' brother was made first *magistros* and then *curopalates* (heir to the throne?); Phocas' daughter was named *Domentzia* and was married to Priskos. The likelihood that acclamations like the Green one that mentions Kroukes and Domentziolos were often "quoted in a garbled and inexact context" is a major finding of Cameron, *Circus Factions*, 246. He, however, did not include this Green acclama^{on} among those misplaced.

⁹³Theophanes, 287.18-21, "οἱ δὲ βένετοι εἶπον "ὁ θεός, ὁ κελεύσας σε βασιλεῦσιν, ὑποτάξει σοι πάντα τὸν πολεμουῦντα τὴν βασιλείαν σου. εἰ δὲ Ῥωμαῖός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγνακμονὴν σε εἰς δουλείαν σου τούτον ὑποτάξει χωρὶς αἱμάτων.

⁹⁴*Ibid.*, 297.3-11 and 19-20.

⁹⁵ Cameron, Circus Factions, 287, "In 601, scared by the revolt of Phocas, Maurice called a race meeting in order to solicit the reassurance of the factions. Both duly chanted their loyal acclamations, but the Greens took the opportunity of complaining about two officials, Constantine and Domentziolos, who were causing them trouble. Maurice might have been well-advised to oblige them under the circumstances, though the fact that later in the year the Greens are found burning Constantine's house suggests that perhaps he did not.... The Green demonstration against Constantine was no true demonstration, but a cowardly device for dissociating themselves from Germanos' plot and will no doubt have gone down very well."

⁹⁶ Ibid., 332.

⁹⁷ Maas, "Metrische Acclamationen der Byzantiner", BZ21 (1920), 28-51.

⁹⁸ Cameron, Circus Factions, 332.

⁹⁹ Theophylact, 263.20-21, ἡ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ποτε ἐκζητήσοι
ἀντίδοσις.

¹⁰⁰ Theophanes, 277.4-5, θεὸς... ἐκζητήσει τὸ αἷμα τοῦ
στρατοῦ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ τοῦ ἐμὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν
αὐτοῦ.

¹⁰¹ II Kings 4.11, καὶ νῦν ἐκζητήσω τὸ αἷμα αὐτοῦ ἐκ χειρὸς
υμῶν.

¹⁰² Theophylact, 295.22-23, ἀνρόπολις τῶν κακῶν ἢ φιλαργυρία
καθεστήκεν.

¹⁰³ Theophanes, 286.29-287.1, οὐδὲν καλὸν τίηκει φιλαργυρία,
μήτηρ δὲ πάντων τῶν κακῶν καθεστήκεν.

¹⁰⁴ I Timothy 6.10, ρίζα γὰρ πάντων τῶν κακῶν ἐστίν ἡ φιλαργυρία.

PART THREE

THEOPHANES' PROBLEMS AS A STUDENT OF THE DISTANT PAST

CHAPTER V

PHILIPPIKOS AND PETER
IN THE REIGN OF MAURICEPhilippikos and Peter in the Sources

Peter and Philippikos, the pair of strategoi in the reign of Maurice (582-602), played a large role in Maurice's military campaigns in Persia and Thrace. Both generals were men of high imperial rank with close family connections to the emperor.¹ Peter was Maurice's brother. Philippikos was Maurice's brother-in-law, married to Maurice's sister Gordia. Theophylact called Philippikos one of Maurice's "very close" kin, while Evagrius referred to Philippikos as "his relative by marriage".² When Peter was executed by Phocas, he held the title of curopalates, according to the Pascal Chronicle.³ Philippikos was Count of the Excubitors according to Theophanes, John of Ephesus and the Pascal Chronicle.⁴ Theophanes indicated that Philippikos, when appointed Count of the Excubitors, was strategos of the East and trusted because he was linked to the emperor by marriage. Theophanes dated Philippikos' appointment as Count of the Excubitors to the year 6086 (593-594 A.D.; the best source, John of Ephesus, suggests before 586.)⁵, but only because apparently Theophanes

linked the appointment with the behavior of general Priskos in Thrace. Philippikos was tonsured and became a monk when Phocas came to power,⁶ according to the Pascal Chronicle, John of Antioch and Theophanes.

Peter was killed in the purge that also took the lives of the general Komentiolos and Theodosius, Maurice's son, according to Theophylact,⁷ but the historian records nothing about Philippikos' fate. Theophanes, on the other hand, gave the most complete description of the execution of Maurice and his male children but did not include Peter, Maurice's brother.⁸ Both men enjoyed high rank from the beginning to the end of Maurice's reign, and suffered at the end.

Peter's rank, as found in the Chronicon Paschale, would have made Peter heir to the throne, according to a precedent established by Justin II when he succeeded Justinian. Maurice, however, had crowned his son Theodosius as early as 590, long before Peter died as Curopolates.⁹ Philippikos' rank as Count of the Excubitors was the rank held by Tiberius before he became emperor and the rank held by Priskos after Phocas became emperor in 602. Maurice was Count of the Foederates at the same point in his career.¹⁰ The ranks of both Peter

and Philippikos are those of men within a heartbeat of the imperial throne. If they were rivals, it would be difficult to say which had legal or traditional precedence for the throne.

Despite this close connection with Maurice, Philippikos and Peter never appear together in any of the sources which document the reign of Maurice. They come closest to being linked together by the Syriac historian John of Ephesus who listed the favors Maurice did for his relatives.¹¹ Generally, however, whenever Philippikos played an active role, Peter was nowhere to be found. When Peter was the strategos in Thrace, Philippikos was not in Thrace, not in Constantinople, and not in that particular source at all. Neither man ever replaced the other as general. Neither man came to the aid of the other with a second army.

These possible interconnections are significant. Examples can be found in Theophylact's narrative of such military assistance that link the generals Komentiolos and Priskos to Philippikos and that link Komentiolos and Priskos to Peter. Theophylact's Roman History and its abbreviated version in Theophanes' Chronographia are, for the most part, narratives of these relationships.

Generally speaking, Peter and Phillipikos should have been active at the same time in the Persian War that ended in 591, and later in the Avar Wars up to 602, but they were not.

One other piece of this puzzle is the consistency of preference to one or the other, Peter or Philippikos, that the surviving sources exhibit. Evagrius, a contemporary whose history extended only as far as the 593 death of his patron Patriarch Gregory of Antioch, mentioned only Philippikos. Evagrius was a "church" historian, but his history included significant amounts of political history (The real bias of Evagrius is that of someone associated with Antioch). Philippikos is often mentioned by Evagrius.

John of Epiphaneia was a compatriot of Evagrius¹² (were both from Ephiphaneia?), who narrated the Persian War of Maurice as far as the restoration of Chosroes.¹³ No lengthy passages of John's work survive, but we do know that Theophylact used it for much of his narrative of the period of Maurice's reign to about 591. Significantly, Theophylact did not mention Peter, Maurice's brother, until Book VI, chapter 11, after the period of Theophylact's dependence on John of Epiphaneia ended.¹⁴ Prior to this period, Theophylact included numerous references to Philippikos.

We may assume John of Epiphaneia did mention Philippikos but not Peter. Epiphaneia is in Syria near the scene of Philippikos' activity.

More importantly, once he no longer relied on John of Epiphaneia, Theophylact never mentioned Philippikos again, except in a passing comment about George at the very end of the history. Although he described the final fate of George, Philippikos' hypostrategos, Theophylact never disclosed the final fate of Philippikos, the brother-in-law of the emperor.

The existing fragments of John of Antioch, which are a source for the fall of Maurice, mention only Philippikos. Philippikos, not Peter appears in Evagrius, John of Epiphaneia and John of Antioch. All three have an Antiochene point of view. The other major narrative sources for the reign of Maurice are Theophanes, the Pascal Chronicle, and Michael the Syrian. Theophanes tried to integrate Peter and Philippikos into a single narrative (Michael the Syrian did the same in the 12th century).¹⁵ This effort on Theophanes' part is most apparent where he writes of the last years of Maurice and of his overthrow by Phocas. The year 602 may enable us to begin to unravel the Philippikos and Peter relationship.

Whom Did Phocas Purge in 602-603?

In only one instance does Theophylact bring Peter and Philippikos together, and here we are referring to Theophylact's account of Phocas' purge at the end of Maurice's reign. This passage, translated below, provides the means to resolve the apparent imbalance in our sources regarding the two men.

And he, Phocas, had Maurice's brother, his own strategos, cut down by the sword. Also that man Komentiolos was destroyed, the one whom my tale often designated as strategos of Europe, and yes even George, upostrategos of Philippikos, but also Praisentinos, the one who was entrusted with the thoughts of Peter, whom the Romans are accustomed to call domestikos.¹⁶

The purpose of this discussion is to show that Philippikos and Peter are the same person in Theophylact throughout the reign of Maurice. To demonstrate this, we must: examine praisentinos as a mark of imperial rank rather than a name, examine the characters caught in Phocas' purge, and argue for the identification of George with Goudouis, Peter's hypostrategos.

There are two reasons for regarding Praisentinos as a title rather than as a person. The first reason arises from the manner in which Theophylact customarily

introduced special ranks and titles at other places in his history. The second is a clear demonstration that Goudouis "was entrusted with the thoughts of Peter",¹⁷ just as Praisentinos was.

When Theophylact wrote, "Praisentinos, the one who was entrusted with the thoughts of Peter, whom the Romans are accustomed to call domestikos", he was engaged in a practice followed throughout the History. Statements like this one were added at many points when Theophylact was using unusual Greek (or non-Greek) terminology.¹⁸ "The Romans call" may refer to Latin terminology in the Greek language or to imperial terminology whether or not it has a Greek root.¹⁹ In this case, the unusual word was either Praisentinos, which has a Latin root, or domestikos, a much better known word but one whose meaning could be misconstrued. Domestikos is not always a rank or title, but sometimes a special word usage meaning one's "intimate". Procopius gave it this narrow and special meaning.²⁰ If Theophylact's intent was to define precisely the name or title Praisentinos, one would translate the phrase the "Praisentinos,"²¹ the one who was entrusted with the thoughts of Peter, someone whom the Romans call one's intimate". This translation places the greatest possible stress on Theophylact's desire to

refer back to a figure in his history who was Peter's confidant. In other words, domestikos was used to define Praisentinos as "confidant".

The other possible translation would be "Praisentinos, the official who kept Peter's secrets, an office the Romans call the domestikos". In later centuries, domestics were commanders of guards regiments. This office could be applied to Praisentinos with the implication that Peter was assigned a domestikos to whom he was required to confide his innermost doubts so they could be reported to the emperor. This requires imagining an office similar to that of commissar in the Red Army. The passage does not seem able to bear this "official" nuance.

The first translation is more plausible. The name Praisentinos is not present anywhere else in Theophylact's history and it does not impress one as being an actual Greek or Roman proper name. The relationship to Peter is described as a personal one between a general and a trusted member of his staff. The reason Theophylact may have gone through this circumlocution is to explain why Phocas would bother to execute a mere praisentinos in the first place. This man was too close to Peter and knew too much about the army revolt, which Phocas led against Peter.

This, we believe, is what links Praisentinos to Goudouis, the man who listened to Peter's forebodings in the autumn of 602.

Theophylact was trying to tell his readers who the people purged by Phocas were. If he failed, it may be because he assumed his readers would know immediately to whom he referred. He may have felt he did not need to name individuals in the same way they had been named not long before in his text. Peter was not mentioned by name, but is mentioned as Maurice's brother and Phocas' general. Komentiolos was named because he had not been referred to for a long time in the history. On the other hand, only some dozen pages before, Theophylact narrated in detail Peter's interview with Goudouis, his second-in-command. Theophylact could assume that the reader would remember Goudouis, who ought to have been among those whom Phocas purged.

Phocas was a centurion who served many years with Priskos and who was on this short campaign with Peter in Thrace.²² When Phocas rebelled against Maurice, he first overthrew the authority of the general, Peter, who commanded him at the time at Palastolos. Komentiolos, the second Roman purged, was no friend to the army in

Thrace, because he had led his troops badly at times, even betrayed them. He had also sought to bring about the death of the general Priskos, the only general popular with the Thracian army. One would expect, in the natural course of a coup d'état, that Phocas would seek vengeance first upon these two men, both of whom were Maurice's close associates anyway. As threats to his legitimacy, Phocas killed Peter and Komentiolos, soon after he dispatched Maurice.

The other people Phocas purged were not from the army. They were from Maurice's family and circle of special friends, including Theodosius his son, a crowned heir to his throne, and Maurice's friend Constantine Lardys, the former praetorian prefect.²³ Against all expectations, George and Praisentinos were also included among Peter, Komentiolos, Theodosius and Constantine Lardys in the first rank of those purged by Phocas.

One other man who ought to have been purged, but apparently was not, was Goudouis. Goudouis was the confidant of the strategos Peter, against whom Phocas had rebelled. Goudouis was present in Thrace when Phocas brought an ultimatum to Peter.²⁴ Goudouis led Peter's army beyond the Danube just before Phocas' rebellion, and thus Phocas had every reason to execute not only Peter

and Komentiolos, but also Goudouis. Based on internal evidence from Theophylact, there is no reason to have executed someone named George who served under Philippikos nor someone named Praisentinos. In addition, not often did Theophylact add irrelevant or random information in his history. It is especially unlikely that he did so at such a crucial point, a point where all the strands of narrative leading back into the Aver Wars, which brought about Maurice's downfall, were woven together for this final purge. Peter himself, in Theophylact, had called Maurice's reign "a Greek tragedy".²⁵ Theophylact surely meant to tie everything together at its finale.

One passage explains clearly the intimate nature of the relationship between Peter and Goudouis. Peter told Goudouis the contents of a dream he had about orders Maurice was sending him.

On the third day he spoke to Goudouis; he said that the imperial orders were sent to him again a dream, and the edict of the letter was in these words, "May our Lord Jesus Christ, the True God, Divine Grace, Head of the Churches, provide what is lacking for the benefit of all, leadership in the present and a ruler of the church". Now Peter was at a loss and distressed, troubled and distracted from looking at the dream from all angles in hopes of finding the deep meanings of the dream; Goudouis, on the other hand, fearful of the disorder of the army and of the statements of the dreams, was struck dumb.²⁶

Obviously, Goudouis was privy to Peter's dreams and to secrets that caused Peter to have a dream full of premonitions of disaster, for Goudouis knew immediately to interpret the dream as a warning that Maurice was about to be replaced by a usurper.

Once Peter, too, realised that recently received orders from Maurice to force the army to stay in the field through the winter would cause rebellion, he told Goudouis despondently that Maurice's greed was the "acropolis of evils".²⁷ Goudouis was Peter's true confidant, his domestikos. Clearly, Praisentinos and Goudouis are one and the same.

If Praisentinos was Peter's hypostrategos Goudouis, it would seem reasonable to question the identity of the hypostrategos of Philippikos. The original statement in Theophylact reads, "...and yes even George, hypostrategos of Philippikos, and also praisentinos, the one entrusted with the thoughts of Peter, whom the Romans are accustomed to call domestikos". This George wore two hats, in effect. First was his official military position and second his relationship to his general. In effect, "George" was used by the author Theophylact in place of "Goudouis" in a statement that otherwise would have been perfectly clear.

Theophylact often avoided writing about the same phenomenon or person twice in the same way. He also avoided terminology "foreign" to his tastes. "George" could be Theophylact's attempt at a proper Greek translation for "Goudouis". Some such twist was added by Theophylact. In fact, the problem of George/Goudouis is part of the same interesting controversy as is that of Philippikos/Peter. The Antiochene and Syrian sources John of Epiphaneia, Evagrius, and John of Antioch use Philippikos, never mentioning Peter. They also mention George, but not Goudouis. Thus, the equation Philippikos: George equals Peter: Goudouis may hold the answer. When in Thrace the general may have been known as Peter and his hypostrategos as Goudouis by the soldiers who told Theophylact about the campaigns there in 597-602. In the East, he was Philippikos and his hypostrategos was George.²⁸

Therefore, when Theophylact arrived at the point when he was to compile the list of those whom Phocas purged, the historian felt a need to bring together both types of sources and to use both sets of nomenclature. Maurice's most trusted general in Thrace was his brother Peter, perhaps because of the sensitive and difficult character of Peter's missions there. Also the

emperor's brother could be expected to have greater authority over an army of roughhewn Thracian soldiers. Maurice's foremost general in the East, and among the Armenians, was Philippikos, Maurice's brother-in-law, a man whom all knew was married to Maurice's sister Gordia.

Many other incidents in Theophylact support this thesis about Peter and Philippikos. For example, the rivalry between Philippikos and Priskos that took place in the East there for the position of supreme commander (magister militum) was transferred to Thrace along with his Roman armies. The rivalry reappears as that between Peter and Priskos. The parallels between the two rivalries are too clearcut to be coincidental.²⁹

The discussion can now return to Theophanes' Chronographia. Because Theophylact failed to mention Philippikos in his history during the 591-602 period, Theophanes searched for appropriate places in the course of Theophylact's history to restore Philippikos to the narrative. Theophanes had sources which gave to Philippikos in Thrace a specific role against the Avars and Slavs, despite Theophylact's silence.

Nicephorus' Breviarium: Did Philippikos
Live on until 611-612?

Before explaining the implications of the mutual identity of Peter and Philippikos, one may look at evidence clearly outside sources of Theophanes (including Theophylact) for final confirmation of this. Patriarch Nicephorus' Breviarium³⁰ uses sources independent of Theophanes and of Theophylact.

Nicephorus' discussion of the general Priskos reveals the position of Philippikos at the end of Maurice's reign. Priskos was Count of the Excubitors during Phocas' reign, the first years of which (i.e. 610-612) he was sent out by Heraclius as general of the East.³¹ A passage in the Breviarium parallels events of 601-602 with those of 611-613. Heraclius, like Maurice in 601, found it expedient to replace Priskos. The men sent out as replacements are of interest here.

Heraclius sent off his own brother Theodore, who possesses first authority after the basileus (around the palace they customarily call this curopalates), just as [ἐν καὶ] Philippikos, who was married to Maurice the emperor's sister and at the time became a monk, to be general of a realm formerly ruled by Priskos. Philippikos lived one year later, died, and was interred in a tomb near the exceedingly beautiful and holy church he built at Chrysapolis.³²

On first reading, this passage seems to state that both Theodore and Philippikos were appointed the general in Priskos' former command. Later in the Breviarium it becomes obvious that Theodore in fact became strategos of the East after Heraclius removed Priskos.³³ Was Philippikos also roused from his retirement to aid Heraclius against the Persians? It is known from the sources listed at the beginning of this section that Philippikos was tonsured and retired to his monastery at Chrysapolis soon after Maurice was overthrown. Only if one speculates that Philippikos returned from his monastery to help Heraclius overthrow Phocas would one want to find in the above passage the information that Philippikos once more became an important Byzantine general in the East in the years after 610.

In fact the passage parallels Maurice's situation vis à vis Priskos with Heraclius' situation vis à vis Priskos. On both occasions when either emperor decided he could not, or would not trust Priskos, that emperor went to the closest circles of his family and to the highest ranks in society. So, just as Maurice replaced Priskos with his brother-in-law Philippikos, Heraclius replaced Priskos with his brother Theodore. In other

words, the mission involved was so sensitive that only a Philippikos in the case of Maurice and a Theodore in the case of Heraclius could be trusted with it.

Nicephorus' brief mention of Philippikos adds, therefore, two new pieces of information to the Philippikos/Peter discussion. Philippikos died one year after Maurice made him general over an army previously led by Priskos, that is in 603. Secondly, since Theophylact wrote that Peter was the general who replaced Priskos at that juncture, Peter and Philippikos again prove to be one and the same, especially since Nicephorus appears to explain that Philippikos, like Theodore, was the curopalates. One recalls that this was Peter's title in 602, according to the Chronicon Paschale.

How Theophanes Interpolated Philippikos into the Chronographia

Theophanes made his first obvious interpolation of Philippikos into Theophylact in A.M. 6086 (593/4). The interpolation is very awkward.

In this year when Priskos again reached the Ister and plundered the tribes of Slavs and sent back many prisoners of war to the emperor, the emperor sent Tatimir to order Priskos to have his Romans spend the winter season there. When the Romans heard this they objected that this was not acceptable

because of the number of barbarians, because it was enemy territory, and because the cold was unbearable. Priskos, with pretty words, persuaded them to winter there and to fulfill the emperor's command. [To this point the passage is a close paraphrase of Theophylact, 239.3-15, Priskos' first (598) campaign against the Slavs]

And emperor Maurice, when he heard about these things, made Philippikos, his own brother-in-law and the general of the East, Count of the Excubitors because he trusted him, owing to being married to his sister [Gordia, Maurice's sister]. And Philippikos began to build in Chrysapolis the monastery of Our Holy Lady the Theotokos and a palace in it, which he hoped Maurice and his children would accept, having constructed fish ponds and game parks inside for his use in his honor. And in Constantinople he built the house called ta Philippikou.³⁴ [emphasis added]

What did Maurice hear about that caused him to bring Philippikos back from the East and appoint him Count of the Excubitors? There is apparently nothing in what Priskos and the Thracian army were doing that prompted Philippikos' transfer. Priskos was doing the emperor's bidding and only shortly before sent a large booty to him. The army was obedient at this time as well. The only possible connection between Theophanes' addition and the passage about Priskos with which it is joined is the longstanding rivalry between Priskos and Philippikos.

In other words, Theophanes used the history of the

rivalry, which extended back to 586 in Syria and Armenia, to guide him in locating the new information he found about Philippikos. These two passages occupy one annal (A.M. 6086) of their own. It appears that this annal was chosen because it was the one instance where Priskos was not replaced by Peter. This means that Theophanes made a plausible deduction that proves, on inspection, to have been wrong. A major source of Theophanes' error was that he, like every other reader of Theophylact, was not told that Peter and Philippikos were one and the same.

However, Philippikos' transfer from the East and his construction of a permanent establishment for himself in Constantinople and Chrysapolis do belong somewhere. One could surmise that the return from the East of Philippikos and his appointment as Count of the Excubitors occurred earlier, while the historian John of Ephesus was still alive. John of Ephesus wrote that Philippikos was Count of the Excubitors and John died in 586.³⁵ However this would not account for the connection Theophanes was making, in a general way, with the military situation in Thrace.

It would also not account for John of Antioch. The

existing fragments of his work show clearly that Philippikos was ordered into Thrace some time in the 590-602 period.

Maurice was "scandalized" at the time he became hated on account of betraying the prisoners of war. And he wrote to Komentiolos secretly to betray the army of Thrace to the barbarians. Then the army learned of the trick. When they got hold of the Strategos, he revealed the letter to them. From this time on they sought to murder Maurice. But having learned about this, Maurice succeeded Komentiolos, made Philippikos [supreme commander in the West?]. They [the army] sent envoys on account of Komentiolos. One of them was Phocas. Moreover, Phocas opposed the emperor, and when everyone was gone one of the patricians, running up to Phocas, pulled his beard and Phocas looked at him making no response.³⁶ [emphasis added]

This fragment is somewhat difficult to decipher, but it offers a direct parallel to the passage from Theophanes. The underlined phrase appears in virtually the same form in Theophanes. Maurice heard about the disaffection of the army and then appointed Philippikos. The passage should not have been linked with the campaign about Priskos in A.M. 6086 (593/4), but with the failures of Komentiolos and the mutiny of the army of 601 and 602.

The choice of Philippikos was made because of his reliability. He was not transferred from the East simply to replace Komentiolos, but to deal with the army's discontent. Philippikos was the one man who would not

use the army's disaffection to launch his own candidacy as a replacement for Maurice. John of Antioch does not designate what Maurice "made" Philippikos (general, magister militum, or Count of the Excubitors). Theophanes indicates that Maurice appointed him Count of the Excubitors once again. The Count of the Excubitors may have been the official in charge of military expeditions into the West at this time.³⁷ There was no magister militum in the West. Maurice tended to control everything from Constantinople. Philippikos, his Count of the Excubitors, fresh from duties on the Persian frontier, would fill this role perfectly. In other words, Philippikos was put in supreme command over generals then in Thrace.

Theophylact provides a means to date precisely this appointment. Philippikos' return from the East and his immediate move to build a monastery at Chrysapolis fits in the twentieth year of Maurice's reign when Peter was appointed "strategos of Europe" once again.³⁸ We dated this appointment to the winter and spring of 601-602, at the same time Maurice was being stoned on February 2, 602, owing to popular unrest. This was the moment Maurice chose to bring Philippikos back from the East. Parenthetically, it may also explain the hope expressed by Philippikos

(in the Theophanes passage above, A.M. 6086) that Maurice would use the palace that he built in Chrysapolis, within his monastery. Was it intended that Maurice should retire from the city and leave the situation in Philippikos' hands?

In Theophylact, Peter was appointed just after Komentiolos had returned from two fiascos in Thrace, defeats which created the suspicion that Komentiolos was under orders to betray the army in Thrace.³⁹ However, Komentiolos was not replaced after either failure. Instead, Peter was returned to supreme command over him. Peter, in Theophylact, took control of the army in Thrace because Maurice sought to be protected from it, just as Philippikos, in John of Antioch, was appointed to protect Maurice from an army that had vowed to murder Maurice. Peter and Philippikos were clearly in similar situations at this moment in 602. It is difficult to doubt that they are one and the same relative of Maurice. Theophanes, caught in the middle between two differing versions of the same story, sought a place elsewhere for Philippikos' appointment as Count of the Excubitors and return from the East.

There is evidence to suggest that Philippikos was in

the East until called back by Maurice in late 601 or early 602. The Persians were on the point of renewing the Perso-Roman War after a long peace.⁴⁰ This is dated in chapter two of this study to 601.⁴¹ Maurice sent George to negotiate with the Persian king. George is called the praetorian prefect by Theophylact.⁴² If, as this discussion of Peter and Philippikos suggests, Philippikos was strategos of the East (magister militum per orientum), George may have been serving under his military control.⁴³ George obtained a renewal of the peace treaty. This renewed peace may have an important relationship to events that followed in the West.

The treaty was sought with the Persians in order to release Romans for service against the Avars. Only after the treaty could Philippikos be brought back from the Persian border zone. As soon as Philippikos was brought back, Maurice sent Priskos to the East to raise 30,000 Armenian horsemen and their families for settlement in Thrace.⁴⁴ Once again the competition between Priskos and Philippikos crops up. In addition, this is one more indication that a treaty with the Persians was renewed in order to release forces for the war in Thrace. Priskos was sent to the East to bring back these Armenians, not

to reinforce the Persian border. Conveniently, Priskos was in Armenia when men from his former command in Thrace under Phocas revolted against Maurice and against Peter (and Philippikos). Priskos lived on to play a grand role in the reign of Phocas, his former junior officer.⁴⁵

Theophanes' Erroneous Interpolations

Under the influence of his ignorance of Philippikos' true identity and role in 601 and 602, Theophanes dispersed a series of events to other parts of his Chronographia. This process confirms his great dependence on Theophylact's History. Unless he possesses a firm chronological marker, that is, an indication or some other firm anchor, Theophanes related new information to appropriate points in Theophylact's narrative. One particular source included a number of events, originally concentrated in 602, which Theophanes dispersed over several of his annals. The result of this dispersal was, on the one hand, to extend open revolt against Maurice's reign (in one case back to 587) and, on the other hand, to spread opposition to Phocas' tyranny dating only from the end of 602 and 603 over several years to A.M. 6098 (606) and 6099 (607).

The following is a list of the most obvious relocations.

- (1) The interview of Maurice with Philippikos and the

Chalke Icon is placed in the summer of A.M. 6094 (602).

It belongs in October or November A.M. 6095 in Theophanes' system to coincide with Peter's similar message to Maurice

which is found in Theophylact.⁴⁶ (2) Maurice's transfer

of Philippikos from command in the East to the post of

Count of the Excubitors is placed by Theophanes in A.M.

6086 (594). It belongs in the year 602 as a second version

of Peter's reappointment in the West.⁴⁷ (3) Philippikos'

announced fear that Maurice's greed would provoke a tyranny

is placed with events of the Persian War in A.M. 6079 (587).

It does not fit in this context, but could go in 602 as

an expression of his apprehensions about Phocas and the

army in Thrace. Identical thoughts are expressed by

Peter at that time.⁴⁸ (4) The army's oath not to accept

Maurice as emperor any more is found within annal A.M.

6079 (587), but only fits in the context of the 602 revolt

of Phocas.⁴⁹

Three events transferred ahead in Theophanes' annals

belong in A.M. 6095 (602/3). (5) The departure of Maurice's

wife Constantina from the palace to Hagia Sophia at the time

of Germanos' attempted usurpation cannot be an event of

A.M. 6098 (606). It parallels exactly the situation in

November and December, 602.⁵⁰ (6) Patriarch Kyriakos'

demand of an oath from Phocas to be orthodox and leave the church undisturbed is made part of Phocas' coronation at Hebdomon. It belongs with events involving Constantina's sanctuary in Hagia Sophia.⁵¹ (7) The plotting of Constantina and Germanos because of a belief that Theodosius her son was still alive is placed in A.M. 6099 (607), as is her torture and death. These events belong in early 603, that is in A.M. 6095 in Theophanes' system.⁵² The footnotes to each of these misplaced events explain why the passage does not belong in its present annal and how Theophanes happened to choose that location in his Chronographia. These events that are dispersed forward in the Chronographia can be restored to 602 and 603 for the added reason that Philippikos' 603-604 death is known.

These dislocations in the Chronographia are the most significant conclusion of this chapter. The events involved were dispersed by Theophanes in a way that suggests they all came from a single source. The next chapter characterizes that source.

Conclusion

As a conclusion to this chapter, we offer the example of another historian (Michael the Syrian in the twelfth century) and his attempt to reconcile the traditions about Philippikos and Peter that reached him by means of Syriac sources. Michael's version follows:

Everyone was very discontented. When the Bulgars set themselves to ravaging Thrace, the Romans marched against them under Philippikos; they conquered the Bulgars and returned. The emperor did not even judge them worthy of their pay. This is why the highest among them ["les grands"] assembled and sent [to Maurice], "God granted peace during your reign. But peace does not nourish cavalry, if they do not receive their solidus. Now, if you do not give us our solidus, be warned that we are your enemies."

For his part, following the example of Roboam, he took no account of their threats; he scorned them. They asked Peter, his brother, to reign over them. He did not want that at all, and fled to alert Maurice. When Maurice learned of all this, he became afraid and went away to Chalcedon to hide. When the army arrived at the capital city and did not find Maurice there, it set up as emperor a miserable old man named Phocas. Then they left and found Maurice whom they returned to the imperial city. They massacred his children in his presence and then killed [Maurice] himself.

When the emperor Maurice, his children and his brother had been killed by the Romans, Phocas began his reign. Then, Philippikos, brother-in-law to Maurice, set himself to denouncing Maurice; he announced that he had been the cause of his [Maurice's] fall and sought to be honored for it. To this Phocas answered: "So, you want to be our

friend, Philippikos" - he answered, "yes, lord!" - The emperor said to him: "And how, since you were not a faithful brother-in-law, could you be a friend without duplicity? Go away. He who could not be a faithful brother-in-law, will not cherish the favors of a friend any more". Chased from the imperial palace, Philippikos went off and became a monk.⁵³

Michael seems to have assembled the traditions about

Peter and Philippikos more successfully than Theophanes:

Philippikos is present as commander of the army in Thrace,

unlike Theophanes' Philippikos. According to Michael,

Peter was with the same army that Philippikos commanded.

Based on what we know from all the contemporary sources

discussed in this chapter, can we avoid concluding once

again that Peter and Philippikos are one and the same?

What is in the name Philippikos that might help explain these difficulties? Michael wrote of these soldiers in rebellion as "cavalry". "Philippikos" could well be an epithet for one who was a partisan of the use of cavalry in Thrace, or the man favored by the cavalry, or even perhaps the hero of the urban population associated with the Hippodrome. The confusion over the identity of Peter and Philippikos could result from the simple nickname: phil-hippikon, lover of riding.

Footnotes to Chapter V

¹W. Ensslin, "Maurice" in *RE* 14(1930), col. 2387-2393; Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam*, I, 40ff.; Paret, 42-44; and Honigmann, 217.

²Theophylact, 64.18, ἄνθρωπος ἐπιδέξιός καὶ βασιλικῆς συγγενείας ἐγγύτατος; Evagrius, VI, 3, Festugière, tr., 448 and PG 86.2848B, κῆρος πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντα, τὴν ἑτέραν γὰρ ταῖς ἀδελφαῖν αὐτοῦ γεγαμηκεῖ.

³*Chronicon Paschale*, PG 92.969C and Bonn ed., 694.5-6, also designated in this way in *Scriptores Originem Constantinopolitanum*, ed. Preger, II, 237.

⁴Theophanes, 272.19-23; John of Ephesus, 203, 18-21 and *Chronicon Paschale*, 695.4-5.

⁵John of Ephesus, 203.18-21, because he died in 586. *Infra*, chap. vi, discussion of the passage in Theophanes (272.19-23).

⁶*Chronicon Paschale*, 695.3-4, both Germanos and Philippikos became "clerics" in 603; John of Anitoch, 218d, Philippikos in ca. 602 cut his hair to become a cleric at Chrysapolis; Theophanes, 293.20-23, A.M. 6098(605/6), Philippikos shaved his head and retired to his own monastery while Germanos was tonsured and guarded in his own house by Phocas. See Theophanes, 272.19-27, for the construction of a monastery at Chrysapolis by Philippikos.

⁷Theophylact, 308.28-309.

⁸Theophanes, 289.31-290.12. Theophanes eventually accounted for everyone including Constantina, her three daughters, Germanos, Peter, Philippikos-within several annals, A.M. 6095-6098 (603-606): Peter, *Ibid.*, 291.4-5; Philippikos, *Ibid.*, 293.22; Constantina and Germanos, *Ibid.*, 293.8-23 and 294-295.

⁹*Chronicon Paschale*, 691.14-16, ἔσται θεοδόσιον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ εἰς βασιλεῖα. οὐ μὲντοι ἔταγν εἰς συμβόλαια ἢ ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἐπαρχῇ ἐπ' αὐτῶ τῶν εἰς γνώρισμα βασιλεὺς, ἀλλ' ἡ μόνον ἔστέωθη. This statement is very curious. It suggests that Maurice did not fully acknowledge Theodosius as his co-emperor or heir. When Maurice made Dometianos of Melitene regent in the 15th year of his reign in the event of his death (Theophylact, 306), Theodosius was given Constantinople and the East as his share, not the whole empire. It is noteworthy that in all these gestures that designated an heir to Maurice's throne, Peter was not mentioned. This is unusual considering he was *curopalates*.

¹⁰Theophanes, 251.27, Maurice as Count of Foederates; *Ibid.*, 292.2-3, Priskos made Count of the Excubitors by Phocas. It was assumed that Priskos' marriage to Phocas' daughter Domentzia made Priskos co-ruler, *Ibid.*, 294.11ff. (also, John of Antioch, FHG, 218e).

¹¹ John of Ephesus, 203-204. Chapter 18 of the fifth book of the surviving third part of the history mentions both Peter and Philippikos. The way the passage is written suggests that both men were regarded by John of Ephesus to be Maurice's brother. This situation may have given rise to Theophylact's erroneous belief that Peter was the general in Europe instead of Philippikos which is discussed below in this chapter. Theophylact may only have known that Maurice's "brother" was "strategos of Europe". Theophylact applied the name Peter as the only brother he knew Maurice to have had. Nothing in John of Ephesus indicates that Peter was a military man.

CAPUT XVIII, de parentibus eius et fratribus [my emphasis, Brooks footnote, legendum fortasse 'fratre'] et sororibus et cognatis plurimis, quos rex Mauricius ad se ad urbem regiam arcessit et ditavit et magnificavit. - Statim igitur initio regni sui rex patrem suum cui nomen Paulus virum senem ad se arcessivit, et matrem suam et fratrem cui nomen Petrus, et sorores duas, unam viduam, et alteram cui vir erat cui nomen Philippicus, quem primo comitem excubitorum constituit, et postea in suo loco omnibus ducibus Romanorum per totum Orientem praeposuit et copias ad bellum contra Persas paraturum misit. Suum ipsius patrem vero etiam toti senatui praecepit, principem omnium patriciorum; cui et filio eius Petro ipsius regis fratri statim bona omnia patricii magni Marcelli fratris regis Iustini, quae haud multo minora erant quam regia, donavit, et domos eius et villas et aurum et argentum et vestiarium et omnia prorsus quae ubivis habebat. Et patri suo item et matri domum aliam ecclesiae et palatio propinquam didit. Necnon sorori suae et marito eius Philippico domum magnam et ingentem in parte urbis occidentali quae vocatur Zeugma dedit (et ea domus nominatur domus *Δαφν*). Necnon sorori suae alteri viduae domum magnam novam et ingentem dedit, quae ipsa etiam patricii Petri qui vocabatur Barsumae fuit, qui eam nuper aedificaverat, in qua est urbs iusta (quasi urbs una). Necnon ceteris cognatis suis domos alias regias magnas et insignes donavit, et studiose eis dedit eosque magnificavit et ditavit, et stabilivit et potestatibus magnis et insignibus regno propinquis cum aliis illustravit, et promovit, et honoribus accinxit, et muneribus praeposuit, quae, quoniam propositum operis nostri cum eis rationem non habet, praeterisimus.

Philippikos was first Count of the Excubitors, then supreme general in the East. The passage in Theophanes that records his appointment as Count of the Excubitors gives these appointments in a reverse order, that is, Philippikos was supreme general in the

East when he was appointed Count of the Excubitors. Clearly, at some later point, Philippikos returned from the East and resumed the role of Count of the Excubitors. This post, apparently, carried with it responsibilities as supreme commander in Thrace.

Philippikos' house in the Zeugma district was one to which Germanos and Theodosius, Maurice's son, fled on February 2, 602 (Theophylact, 291.20). "Ἰλαρός in the passage above. Philippikos was very close to Maurice's family. How close? He was not one of Maurice's parents, not one of the daughters John of Ephesus mentions, nor one of the acquaintances of Maurice. He was, as brother-in-law, brother to Maurice. Did this ambiguity in John of Ephesus recur whenever the "brother of Maurice" was spoken about or written about?

¹²Evagrius, 219 and supra, chap. i, footnote 5.

¹³Supra, chap. i, footnote 7.

¹⁴Theophylact, 242.8-12. Suddenly, Maurice replaced Priskos with Peter. Maurice's brother Peter had not served previously even though he was with Maurice from the beginning of his reign, if not before (ca. 582).

¹⁵Michael the Syrian, 374-375. Infra, chap. v, p. 234-235, the complete text of Michael the Syrian (Chabot's French translation) is included for the purpose of comparison with Theophanes.

¹⁶Theophylact, 308.28-309.6, καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Μαυρικίου τὸν ἑαυτοῦ στρατηγὸν ἀποτείνει τῷ ξίφει. ἀναιρεῖται τε καὶ Κομηνίολος ἐκεῖνος, ὃν πολλὰκις ὁ λόγος στρατηγὸν τῆς Εὐρώπης ἀνεδείξεν, καὶ ἃ καὶ ὁ Γεώργιος, ὁ τοῦ Φιλίππικου ὑποστράτηγος, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ ὁ Πραϊσεντίνος ὁ τὰς τοῦ Πέτρου πεπιστευμένους φροντίδας, ὃν δομέστικον εἰώθασιν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἀποκαλεῖν. Theophylact does not divulge the fate of Philippikos, nor that of Priskos and Germanos. He does (Theophylact, 309.6-27) describe the fate of Constantine Lardys and Maurice's son Theodosius, introducing the possibility that Theodosius escaped to Persia and the East.

Chronicon Paschale, 694.1-12, provides a nearly identical list of those purged except that it does not include a Goudouïs, a Praisentinos or a George. One might expect Theophylact to add one lesser-known (someone not recorded in an official record like the Chronicon Paschale) figure such as Goudouïs, who was important in Theophylact's History, but not to the Paschal chronicler. One doubts, however, that he would add two individuals such as Praisentinos and George, who are not mentioned in any other source and do not figure prominently in Theophylact's History.

¹⁷Theophylact, 309.4-5, ὃ τὰς τοῦ Πέτρου πεπιστευμένους φροντίδας.

¹⁸Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), Appendix K contains a list of "objective phrases", as she calls them, that are present in Theophylact. Her book does not consider the use Theophylact made of such phrases, but she discusses Agathias' similar use of them (Cameron, *Agathias*, chap. viii, "Classicism and Affectation", 75-88). She concludes that Theophylact was the most caught up in such affectation and euphemism (*Ibid.*, 88).

¹⁹Compare, for example, *ἐπαρχος* for prefect, but *κόμης* for comes. Both, in Theophylact, would be described as "Roman speech" or "Latin", if he thought them somehow unfamiliar or neologistic. The fact that Theophylact once wrote the word *rex*, calling it a barbarian word, has been used to prove that Theophylact did not really know Latin (Theophylact, 236.2), *τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα τῆ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ* in reference to the barbarian Mousokios; cf. Cameron, *Agathias*, 79 and Bury, I, 171 note 2 continuing on 172, "Theophylact was evidently ignorant of Latin".

Was "Mousokios" perhaps a barbarian title meaning *rex*? It is significant that none of the other barbarians in the west discussed by Theophylact were called *rex*. Peiragastos, Ardagastos and the Avar khagan are the names invariably used. Theophylact, however, knew from Menander that the khagan's name was Baian. In effect, Theophylact seems to have used titles rather than names for the barbarian leaders. See Appendix A for our opinion on the actual identity of this "Mousokios".

²⁰Procopius, ed. Bonn, 326.11-12, *ὁ δὲ τῶν ἀποροχῆτων ἄσπαρ ἔφη κοινῶς εἶναι; δομῆστικον δὲ τοῦτον τῇ σφετέρᾳ καλούσι. Ῥωμαῖοι.* Procopius here defines "domestikos" as one who shared the secrets of Aspar the strategos. There is no implication here that "domestikos" was an office or rank. This is exactly what Theophylact was saying about Praisentinos. Domestikos was not the man's title, but "Praisentinos" may have been (cf. Evagrius, PG 86, 2705B, when Justin made Vitalian, who was a threat to the throne, consul and general of "one of those groups of men called *πραισέντοι*." Justin's purpose was to draw Vitalian close to the court in order to have him assassinated. "Praisentinos" suggests someone very close to Peter, i.e. Goudouis.

²¹Our final try at a translation is "the man *τοῦ πραισέντου*". This status (*τοῦ πραισέντου*) was given Komentiolos in Theophylact's *History* when Komentiolos had first proved his loyalty to Maurice by defeating the Slavs near Adrianople (in Astica). Komentiolos started out as a *σκιρβων* and gradually became one of Maurice's most trusted generals (Theophylact, 52.25).

²²His first appearance in Theophylact's *History* is in 602 (Theophylact, 295.7-8 and 296.14).

²³*Ibid.*, 309.6-12.

²⁴*Ibid.*, 295.

²⁵Ibid., 295.24-25.

²⁶Ibid., 294.11-21.

²⁷Ibid., 295.21-22.

²⁸A certain George was sent as an ambassador to Chosroes in 601 (Theophylact, 283.19-284.19). George's embassy to Chosroes took place after Goudouis' service as hypostrategos for Priskos (Theophylact, 264.18-266.9) and before Goudouis' return to Thrace as hypostrategos for Peter (Theophylact, 292.8-296.16).

²⁹Ibid., 114.10, Philippikos was appointed by Maurice to replace Priskos because the army was in revolt. Ibid., 115, the army refused to obey Philippikos. Ibid., 118.16-119.2, Gregory of Antioch mediated between Philippikos and the rebellious army. Ibid., 119.21-25, Philippikos' loss of Martyropolis. Ibid., Philippikos replaced by Komentiolos. Ibid., 64.14-20, Philippikos replaced John Mystacon because of Philippikos' close relationship to Maurice. Ibid., 109, Priskos replaced Philippikos, who tried to subvert his replacement Priskos out of sheer jealousy.

³⁰Nicephorus, 3-77. The work begins with the overthrow of Phocas by Heraclius in 610. However, it clearly regards Heraclius to be Maurice's avenging spirit. Nicephorus may have considered himself to be starting his narrative where Theophylact left off (see infra, chap. vii).

³¹Theophanes, 292.2-3, for Count of the Excubitors and Ibid., 294.11-25, for Priskos' marriage to Phocas' daughter Domentzīa; Nicephorus, 5.16-17 for "Krispos" (Priskos') appointment as Heraclius' general in Cappadocia (magister militum per orientem?)

³²Nicephorus, 7.2-11, Ἡράκλειος δὲ θεόδωρον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφόν, τὴν μετὰ βασιλεῖα πρώτην ἀρχὴν κεκτημένον (κουροπαλάτην δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ περὶ τὰ βασιλεῖα καλεῖν εἰώθασιν), ἐτι καὶ Φιλιππικὸν τὸν Μαυρικίου τοῦ βασιλεῖος γαμβρὸν ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ γεγόνοντα, τῆνικαὶ δὲ εἰς κλυρικὸν σχῆμα ἀποκεκαρμένον τὴν κοίτην, ἡγεμόνα τῆς ὑπὸ Κρίσπου πρώτῃ ἰδουμένης ἀρχῆς ἐξέπειπτε. Φιλιππικὸς δὲ ἐπιβιοῦς χρόνον ὕστερον ἐτ- εἰς τὰ καὶ πρὸς τῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐαυθιγενεῖ περικαλλεῖ ἄγαν καὶ σεβασμῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κατὰ Χρυσόστολον ὅντι τῷ παραδίδοται.

We have translated ἐτι καὶ (underlined in the passage) as "just as". This expression has been the cause of the failure to date Philippikos' death to 603 and his appointment as Priskos' replacement earlier than the fall of Maurice. Nicephorus used this expression another time to obtain the same meaning (Nicephorus, 42.14-16). In this instance the reference is backwards in his own text (Ibid., 40.13-17): Ἀντίμαχον δὲ συλλαβὴν ἔβασμον ἔτος ἐν τῇ βασιλεῖα διὰ νόσαντα, ἐτι δὲ καὶ Λεόντιον σιδηροῖς πεδῆρας κατέσχεν ἐν εἰρκῇ.

³³Ibid., 23.

³⁴Theophanes, 272.11-27.

³⁵John of Ephesus, 203.18-21, see supra, chap. v, footnotes 5 and 11.

³⁶John of Antioch, FHG, 218b. The Greek is unclear on the exact nature of Philippikos' appointment: Ἰνους δὲ ὁ Μαυρικὸς διεπέμψατο Κομνητιόλον, ποιήσας Φιλιππικόν.

³⁷Theophylact, 132.14. Tiberius was Count of the Excubitors when he was sent into Thrace by Justin II. Justin's intimate, like Maurice's, was thus entrusted with missions into Thrace and originating from Constantinople.

³⁸Ibid., 291.1-2.

³⁹Ibid., 268.12-271.26; 284.22-286.13; 289.21-290.27.

⁴⁰Ibid., 283.11-12.

⁴¹Supra, chap. i, p. 61. Dölger (Regesten, 15) dates George's embassy to "ca. 600". Chosroes "hat soeben einen einfall in reichsgebiet gemacht".

⁴²Theophylact, 283.21-22, ὅς τῆς τῶν ἐφ' αὐτὴν πόλεως φορολογίας τὴν ἐπιστολίαν ἐπέκτετο· τοῦτον πραιτωρίων ἐπαρχὸν ἀποκαλοῦσι Ρωμαῖοι.

⁴³Theophylact's terminology may be shaky here. George was praetorian prefect when he negotiated with Chosroes. This is an office higher than a mere tax collector. Was he perhaps in charge of collecting sums from the cities of the East that went to pay and supply Maurice's army on the Persian border? The praetorian prefect was more a military, than civil, official anyway.

George suffered for the success of his embassy (Theophylact, 284.15-17). Theophylact wrote that George's embassy "became harmful to him". Was he sent back to Thrace as hypostrategos to Philippikos once again? We know Philippikos was returned to Thrace as a result of this treaty, so it may well also be true of George.

⁴⁴Sebeos, trans. Macler, 54; Dölger, Regesten, 16, "sommer?" of 602. Goubert, I, 209-210, called this the "deportation manquee de l'an 602".

⁴⁵Sebeos, 55. Priskos was still in the East when news of a revolt arrived. The rebel leader, Phocas, must have been a centurion with this army under both Priskos' and Peter's commands since he was trusted by the veterans who made up the army.

⁴⁶Theophanes, 284-286 and Theophylact, 296.17-20. The passage in Theophanes should be associated with Theophylact's explanation of how Peter got news to Maurice from Thrace in 602 when the army revolted in the late fall. The passage may be Theophylact's equivalent for Maurice's dream in John of Antioch (and Theophanes):

When Peter heard about these things (the army's proclamation of Phocas as "exarch") he turned his thoughts to retreat and made what was happening known to the autocrat Maurice. Maurice called the ill-omened messenger into the palace, making his inquiries in secret from the courtiers. Then, he was beset by cares and a great apathy overcame him.

Maurice's behavior in Theophanes (i.e. dealing with the news in secret, great personal distress) is similar, but events are more specific. Since this interview in Theophylact between Maurice and a messenger from Peter was kept a secret, the court may have wondered how Maurice came to know that Phocas was the leader of an army in revolt. Court sources and the writers drawing from these sources could well have regarded this incident as a dream. One supposes that Maurice's first act after receiving the message from Peter was to receive him back in Constantinople and lift a cloud of suspicion surrounding him (as Theophanes tells us happened to Philippikos).

⁴⁷Theophanes, 272.19-27 and Theophylact, 291.1-2. Theophanes placed the appointment in A.M. 6086, 594, because this was the one place Priskos had not been replaced by Peter. This whole matter is discussed *infra*, chap. vi.

⁴⁸Theophanes, 260.2-4, A.M. 6079 (587), ἐνόςσε γὰρ Μαυρίκιος τὸ φιλόχρυσον. ὁ δὲ Φιλίππικος φοβηθεὶς μὴ ἀπορῆν τῆς τυραννίδος γένηται τοῦτο, τῷ βασιλεῖ οὐκ ὑπήκουσε διὰ τε τοῦτο τῆς στρατηγίας ἀσπασάσθαι. This passage in Theophanes has been considered a spontaneous addition added to Theophylact's narrative of the Persian war in 587 (Tinnefeld, 54-57, hypothesizes a source favorable to Phocas that allowed Theophanes to add the truth about Maurice's "Geldliebe"). The problem with the statement at this place in the history of Maurice's reign is that it does not supplement Theophylact's History, it contradicts it. The statement assumes that Philippikos was on the side of the soldiers against Maurice. However, in Theophylact, Philippikos was replaced by Priskos before Maurice showed any "greediness" (as represented in the orders Priskos carried). Philippikos instructed his hypostrategos Heraclius to reveal Priskos' secret orders to the army to cause a rebellion against Priskos and Maurice. Theophylact specified that Philippikos did this out of envy of Priskos.

Peter in 602 (Theophylact, 294) dreamed that Maurice's overthrow was imminent and told Goudouis that Maurice's greed was "the acropolis of evils" (Ibid., 295.21-22). This situation is a much better match for Philippikos' expressed fear of an ἀπορῆν τῆς τυραννίδος.

⁴⁹Theophanes, 261.1-2 and Theophylact, 296.3-14.

⁵⁰Theophanes, 293.8-23, A.M. 6098 (606) and Theophylact, 301.27-302.19. The incident in Theophanes includes the statement that Patriarch Kyriakos prevailed upon Phocas not to violate the sanctity of Hagia Sophia where Constantina and her three daughters sought sanctuary. Theophanes put the event in annal A.M. 6098 apparently because he associated it with the death of Kyriakos which he also recorded in that year (cf. Chronicon Paschale, 697.5-9, October of the Ninth Indiction, that is, October, 605, which is A.M. 6098 in Theophanes' system, confirms the death of Kyriakos).

The incident itself involved Constantina and her three daughters escaping from the palace to Hagia Sophia. It is not possible that they were still in the palace in 606. Moreover, Theophanes states that Germanos aspired to the throne at this time. Theophylact clearly indicates that Germanos made his bid for the throne in 603 or late 602. Finally, the passage mentions that Philippikos was tonsured and retired to his monastery at Chrysapolis. This also took place in 602/3.

⁵¹Theophanes, 289.14-16, A.M. 6094 (602). This incident does not belong with the events at Hebdomon (Theophylact, 302.20-303.13). Phocas dominated the scene at Hebdomon in the church of John the Baptist. The oath may have been extracted from Phocas in exchange for the right to remove Constantina and her daughters from Hagia Sophia. It seems to be a companion to his oath not to harm them.

⁵²Theophanes, 294.27-295.10, A.M. 6099 (607). This is the record of Constantina's death. It is stated that once again Constantina was involved in a plot along with Germanos to overthrow Phocas. Constantina was betrayed by one of her ladies-in-waiting. This story of Constantina's betrayal and execution is merged with the record of a plot also attested by the Chronicon Paschale (696.6-17) in June of 605. Constantina, her daughters, Germanos' daughter and Germanos were executed in that year, but not as conspirators (Chronicon Paschale, 696.18-697.3).

Theophanes spread these events throughout the reign of Phocas because (1) Theophylact did not report the deaths of Germanos and Constantina, (2) these annals were otherwise empty because the reign of Phocas has suffered at the hands of the chroniclers, and (3) the eunuch Stephanos played a very complex role at the end of Maurice's reign which Theophanes did not understand.

⁵³Michael the Syrian, 374-375, and 379 (my translation from Chabot's French translation of the Syriac original).

CHAPTER VI

TRAJAN'S 712 CHRONICON SYNTOMON
AND THE FALL OF MAURICE IN 602

To this point in this dissertation, Theophylact's history has been the key source on the basis of which Theophanes the chronicler has been evaluated. The effects which Theophylact's chronological system and his rhetorical style had on Theophanes have provided a portrait of Theophanes as a working chronicler. Theophylact's distinction between Philippikos in the East and Peter in the West dominated Theophanes' thinking. However, for the years of the reign of Maurice, 582-602, there are other sources which are very important for a proper understanding of how Theophanes worked, and it is to an examination of the relationship of Theophanes to these sources that we now turn.

The bridge from Theophylact to these other sources is Maurice the emperor (582-602). Others wrote about Maurice, and especially about his last year on the throne and the manner of his death. Maurice is a most interesting emperor in that he maintained a historical reputation as an orthodox and as an effective ruler, while he and his sons were murdered with the apparent blessing of the citizenry of Constantinople. The agent of the deed, Phocas, was less welcome to the city

than the deed itself. This irony has been perhaps the stimulus for interest in his reign.

Theophylact gave an extensive description of Maurice's last year. Theophylact knew of the year 602 intimately. One might say the year was treated exhaustively by Theophylact, if it were not for the fact that some even more detailed episodes from that last year survived elsewhere, namely in Trajan, an early eighth century author. Theophanes assured the survival of these additional episodes from the life of Maurice. The question is where they came from and when they were written. For example, Theophanes wrote:

A.M. 6094 (Theophanes 284.21-286.14)... Maurice, being by himself and realising that nothing escapes God, that He requites everyone according to his deeds, while thinking over the sin which he committed in not having bought the prisoners of war, judged that it was preferable to pay back his wrong in this life and not in the life to come; and he prepared written requests and released them to all the patriarchal thrones and all the realms in his authority and gave money, candles and incense to the monasteries in the desert and in Jerusalem and to the lavras that they might pray for him, so that he would pay here and not in the life to come.

And he was also suspicious of Philippikos, his brother-in-law, because his name began with a 'Phi'. Philippikos variously swore to the emperor that he was pure in his devotion to him and there would be no treachery from him. After Maurice beseeched God to have mercy upon his soul, one night while he was sleeping, he saw a vision that he was standing at the Chalke Gate of the palace in front of the icon of Our Saviour

and a great multitude was with him; a voice from the picture of Our Great God and Saviour Jesus Christ said, "produce Maurice". Having seized him, the servants of judgment stood him on the porphyry stone there. The divine voice said to him, "where do you wish that I requite thee, here or in the age to come?" He listened and said, "God-loving Lord, Just Judge, rather here, and not in the age to come." The divine voice ordered that Maurice and his wife, his children and all his kin be turned over to the soldier Phocas.

After he woke up, he called his chamberlain, sending him to Philippikos, his brother-in-law, to bring him speedily to the emperor. And going off, the chamberlain summoned him. He was awakened and, after summoning his wife, embraced her saying "save yourself, no longer will you see me". She cried in a loud voice with a sob at the chamberlain, "I charge you by God in heaven, what is the matter for which he summons him at this hour?" He swore that he knew not, and that "suddenly he got up from his sleep and sent me". Philippikos asked to change and thus went off to the emperor. His wife Gordia lay on the floor mourning and sobbing, beseeching God. Entering into the imperial bedroom, Philippikos threw himself at the emperor's feet. The emperor said to him, "forgive me for God's sake, that I did you wrong, until now I was suspicious of you." And he ordered the chamberlain to leave, got up and threw himself at the feet of Philippikos saying, "forgive me, I surely know that you did me no wrong. But tell me, what soldier in our armies do you know named Phocas?" Philippikos, thinking for a while, said, "I know one, who was sent not long ago and spoke against your authority(rule)". And the emperor said, "what sort of man?" Philippikos said, "Young, bold and treacherous". Then said Maurice, "If treacherous, then a murderer". And he explained to Philippikos the revelation of the dreams.

That night a star appeared in the heavens which is called a comet. The next day the magistrianos arrived who was sent to the holy fathers in the desert, bearing from them the following answer, "God, accepting your repentance, preserves your soul and places you with

all your kin among the holy ones[saved?], but you will fall from your emperorship with dishonor and violence". Having heard this, Maurice praised God mightily.¹

On the other hand, John of Antioch, whose important history has survived only in fragments, parallels parts of Theophanes' tale about Maurice's vision, but contradicts it. John is virtually a contemporary source for this incident. The only problem with John is his incompleteness. One fragment indicates that the army vowed to "murder" Maurice after the mission of Komentiolos in Thrace and after Maurice failed to ransom the prisoners-of-war.² In a fragment that apparently follows the one just mentioned, John presents a different, shorter, account of the interview between Maurice and Philippikos:

Maurice was suspicious at the army of Thrace and at Philippikos his brother-in-law, and Maurice saw a revelation that he stood on the porphyry stone at Chalke and said to him, "Where do you wish I pay you back, now or in the future?" And he said "now". And he ordered³ him to be surrendered to the soldier Phocas, and he woke up.⁴ Then Maurice made repentance to Philippikos.

There are two parts to this chapter. The first evaluates the survival of various interpretations of Maurice's fall from his throne. It pinpoints a likely date for the particular version that made its way into Theophanes' Chronographia and attributes the source of this version to Trajan, a chronicler

writing in the second reign of Justinian II Rhinotmetos (685-695, 705-711) and its aftermath. The second part relates the Philippikos of 582-602 and the events of Maurice's fall to another Philippikos, Philippikos Bardanes, who overthrew Justinian II Rhinotmetos in 711. These two Philippikoi are used to trace the contribution of an early eighth century author to Theophanes. The chapter as a whole explores the major source besides Theophylact that Theophanes used for the years of Maurice. Our goal is to show that Theophanes found the story about the Chalke Icon, Maurice and Philippikos in Trajan and, accordingly, did not compose it himself.

The Legend of Maurice's Repentance

The fate of the emperor Maurice interested Byzantines in later years. The curious story of his choosing to be punished for his errors as a ruler was current throughout succeeding centuries. It enjoyed a special vogue during the reign of Justinian II Rhinotmetos at the turn of the eighth century. For example, there is an obscure and unnoticed short passage in a work attributed to Anastasios Sinaites⁵ that indicates Maurice's renunciation of earthly glory had become an important model for imperial behavior. In Anastasios'

Questiones,⁶ Maurice is chosen as an example of Job-like suffering:

Perhaps also some may die at times a bitter death for the sake of their salvation according to the will of God, as I said, for, having begged God to take back from him in this world for his sins, the basileus Maurice saw in a dream a man exceeding glorious (ὕπερβαντον) who ordered the emperor that he be turned over to Phocas the soldier, which eventually happened.⁷

The choice made by Maurice had become a commonplace in Byzantine piety one hundred years after it was allegedly made. His renunciation of this world suited Byzantines who faced the will of an inscrutable God, as well as Saracens and heresy.

The lesson of Maurice's choice was also that an emperor could be made to pay for his errors as a ruler in this life. Rather than wait for the damnation that Hellenistic kingship theory claimed should come to the ruler who failed, Maurice had prayed for his own overthrow.⁸ Even though Maurice was orthodox and legitimate, the Byzantine senate and the populace of Constantinople were being allowed, by God, to rid themselves of a ruler who had offended both God and them.

Therefore, although tyrants were never justified, a tyranny was sometimes necessary. The tyranny of Phocas was an example of a divinely approved and necessary one. This is only one interpretation of the fall of Maurice, but the one that prevails in Theophanes' Chronographia. This chapter

argues that, although the facts that went into this interpretation are present in sources nearly contemporary with the event, the version of these facts present in Theophanes was first written in ca. 711. With this brief introduction to the Maurice legend in hand, we may turn to the contribution of Theophanes and John of Antioch to it and to a comparison of the two texts translated at the beginning of this chapter.

Who Spoke to Maurice at the Porphry Stone,
Philippikos or the Christ Icon?

The characters which Theophanes placed in this episode, for A.M.6094(602 A.D.), are Maurice, Philippikos, Count of the Excubitors married to Maurice's sister Gordia, Gordia herself, Maurice's chamberlain, and Phocas. Maurice was obsessed with guilt because he had refused to pay to redeem some captives held by the Avar khagan. The khagan had them massacred as a result. This failure to ransom prisoners-of-war does not, one notices, occur in Theophylact's detailed narrative of those years of conflict with the Avar khagan. Maurice prayed to be punished in this life. In a dream, Maurice learned that the agent of this punishment would be Phocas. One deduces from the passage that before the dream, Maurice had suspected or believed that Philippikos would be

God's instrument against Maurice. According to Theophanes, Philippikos was suspected because his name began with a "Phi".⁹ "Phi" happens also to be the first letter in "murderer".¹⁰ To sum up, Maurice suspected his own brother-in-law would be the instrument of God's punishment; Maurice prayed for this punishment; and Maurice based his suspicion on the first letter in Philippikos' name.

This story does not hold together under scrutiny. There are three different activities of Maurice conflated in one episode, and the three do not mix well with one another. Maurice was praying for punishment in this life independent of his relationship with Philippikos. If he was resigned to accept God's punishment, he had no reason to suspect anyone or to try to prevent the murder. Yet, Maurice frightened Philippikos so much that he begged Philippikos' forgiveness for the suspicion he had had of him, and for the bad treatment Philippikos received at his hands. Philippikos had been under suspicion of aspiring to overthrow Maurice. For lack of any other information, Theophanes' source apparently invented the explanation that Philippikos was suspected because his name began with "Phi". Moreover, the third aspect of the incident, the questions Maurice asked about Phocas, do not belong in this story because Maurice already knew about Phocas.¹¹ In effect, Philippikos

was unnecessary in this long story for two reasons: Maurice had repented and sent letters to the patriarchs and abbots before he had the dream in question so that he had already chosen punishment in this life; secondly, Maurice already knew about Phocas so that he did not need to ask Philippikos about him.¹²

Philippikos was included as a major participant in this drama all the same. He was essential because he gave Maurice's general anxiety a concrete historical form. Of course, Philippikos was a real-life figure during Maurice's reign, and he did confront Maurice, apparently in opposition to the emperor.¹³ So, Maurice had reasons to distrust Philippikos, reasons that went beyond the first letter in his name. We may suspect that Maurice's concern at this particular time (602) had its source in Philippikos' command of the army in Thrace.

John of Antioch's Fragment

Is the John of Antioch fragment simply a truncated version of the lengthy episode included in Theophanes' Chronographia? On the one hand, John of Antioch presented Philippikos as a possible rival to Maurice. Philippikos, apparently a general in Thrace, was linked to the potentially rebellious Thracian army. He was a threat for more substantial reasons than that

his name began with the same letter as murderer [phoneus]. On the other hand, Theophanes' source treated Philippikos as the cringing subject and victim of the all-powerful, but superstitious, autocrat Maurice, whom God alone could decide to overthrow. Also, in John of Antioch's version Maurice immediately knows who Phocas is and does not ask Philippikos about Phocas.

John of Antioch's statement can be seen to be one unified and complete story. Philippikos was one of Maurice's generals in Thrace. The war was not going well there and Maurice knew the army to be in a rebellious frame of mind. Haunted by the situation, Maurice dreamed that he had an interview with Philippikos in which he bade Maurice be turned over to Phocas. In other words, Maurice was made to realize through the dream that his policies in Thrace were putting himself and the empire in the hands of a disgruntled centurion, Phocas. Is it a coincidence that Peter sent a secret message to Maurice at just this time?

In this interpretation of John of Antioch, Maurice had a conversation with Philippikos, not with Christ. In effect, the dream told Maurice that he suspected the wrong man, and that Phocas was now in charge of the army in Thrace. If the army was marching against Maurice, Phocas was its leader, not Philippikos. Maurice woke up fully informed by this "revelation" and forgave Philippikos. If this interpretation is correct,

it means that the fragment was a report of an incident that occurred in the fall of 602. As such, it coincides completely with the tenure of Maurice's brother Peter as discussed in Chapter Five.

Certain factual considerations point to the likelihood of a conversation between Maurice and Philippikos at Chalke, one in which Maurice found out in a dream that Philippikos was still trustworthy. Theophanes himself indicates that Philippikos had earlier refused to carry out certain of Maurice's orders because they would have been a "pretext for a tyranny", that is, for bringing someone like Phocas to power.¹⁴ In addition, Byzantine ceremonial made special provision for such interviews with "patricians and generals" to take place in the Chalke Gate of the Onopodion,¹⁵ where the emperor stood on the imperial porphyry stone. However, this interpretation of John of Antioch's fragment eliminates Maurice's concerns for his eternal salvation.

Scholars have not explored this possible interpretation for John of Antioch's fragment, largely because of its omission of the Chalke icon.¹⁶ Because the icon actually existed at the Chalke Gate, it is reasoned that Maurice's dream must have involved the icon and that it must have been the icon that spoke to Maurice. Theophanes' version of the story is accepted

as simply a better version of essentially the same story because it is complete(i.e. it mentions the icon).

There is no other evidence except for Theophanes that the Chalke icon was in existence in 602 or when John of Antioch wrote. Therefore, it is a risky assertion to explain its absence in John of Antioch as a result of that source's fragmentary nature. One suspects that mention of the icon, if it was originally included by John of Antioch, would not have been omitted by those who excerpted this story. Moreover, if the icon was part of the original "revelation", John himself would not have sandwiched the vision between sentences about Philippikos.

Furthermore, the talking icon would seem unnecessary for a dream "revelation". These icons actually spoke to people in their waking state. If they spoke only in dreams, they would not really be antiphonetés icons.¹⁷ The great public interview between Maurice and the icon described in Theophanes' version of Maurice's dream is a case in point. It seems to be a legendary event that was believed to have taken place, rather than an incident that an emperor experienced in his dreams. Such a legendary event associated with the last years of Maurice would be the centerpiece of the hagiography of his decline and fall. And somewhere along the line, we

suppose a historian got hold of this legend and tried to make it part of the historical narrative of John of Antioch, a contemporary of Maurice.

The tale of Maurice's repentance for the errors of his imperial ways is a story separate from the story of Philippikos and Maurice. In a general sense, even Theophylact recorded the story of Maurice's repentance:

It is said that Maurice, a few years before his murder, beseeched in letters to the most sacred churches of the world that Christ Our Lord, One of the Holy Trinity, should extract retribution [antidóseis] while they [his family] lived in this fleshly and perishable world.¹⁸ [my emphasis added]

The tale of the Chalke icon in Theophanes put this choice to Maurice about his salvation in 602 (A.M. 6094) long after these letters had been sent asking the religious to pray for Maurice's salvation. According to these letters sent off to the patriarchs and the Holy Land, Maurice had decided a few years before to suffer in this life.¹⁹ The incident with the Chalke icon, seen in this light, is redundant, although one can see the attempt to reconcile the two stories in the concluding paragraph of Theophanes' account, where on the next day, an answer to Maurice's letters came back from "the holy fathers in the desert" confirming the message of the dream.²⁰

Compared to the letters themselves, which are plausible and attested in nearly contemporary sources, the dream is an interesting fabrication which interweaves the actual letters written sometime after 597 A.D. with the actual "revelation" (Maurice's dream) of 602 to produce a colorful, but incredible, tapestry. Although the separate tradition about Maurice's letters was complete without the link to Maurice's relationship with Philippikos in John of Antioch, these letters from emperor to patriarchs and monks lacked the dramatic impact that the talking icon added.

What Was Maurice's Great Sin?

The date and circumstances of Maurice's "sin" are the causes of all this confusion. Theophylact noted that Maurice wrote to the patriarchs and desert fathers on this matter,²¹ but he does not explain what the great sin was or how it is related to Maurice's sudden repentance. One must look elsewhere for the explanation.

John of Antioch's first fragment about Maurice begins with the statement that Maurice was "scandalized (shocked?) at being hated because he betrayed prisoners-of-war".²² Although the Greek verb for "scandalized" may have several

meanings, it seems certain that Maurice's betrayal of the prisoners-of-war is connected to his repentance. Muller dated this fragment to 599 on the basis of similar "dated" passages in Theophanes [A.M. 6092, A.D. 600 in Theophanes].²³ It cannot be attached to 599 with any confidence. Theophanes linked his information about the emperor's failure to ransom the prisoners-of-war to the last embassy that was made to the Avars in Theophylact.²⁴ Theophanes tried to connect the ransom of these prisoners-of-war to the peace treaty between the Avars and Romans that has been dated to 601 (Item 47 on Table 1), but this is too late a date for the beginning of Maurice's repentance, if he repented a few years before 602 as Theophylact claims.

All that is known chronologically about Maurice's failure (or refusal) to ransom the soldiers is that several years before his 602 death Maurice wrote to the patriarchs and desert fathers.²⁵ Some time before that, Maurice must have committed a heinous act(s) for which he sought earthly instead of eternal punishment. John's fragment indicates that Maurice refused the ransom before he sent Komentiolos to take charge of the army in Thrace. This points to the likelihood that the "sin", the refusal to ransom captives from the Avar khagan, took place while Maurice was his own general in Thrace.

This also points to the events that took place just after Maurice retired from active military duty. Maurice's illness in his fifteenth year and the testament he made appointing Dometianos regent in the event of his death occurred at this same time. At the same period he took to wearing the hallowed rags of John the Faster. He was 58 in the 15th year of his reign. Sick, old and inactive from 597, Maurice began to repent the deeds of his active life.²⁶ Unfortunately, all these pointers turn the search for the date of the failure to ransom the captives to the period 592-596. In the first chapter it was seen how obscure that period is in Theophylact's history. It is our opinion that the men whom Maurice failed to ransom were the Armenians captured during these years of Maurice's generalship. We view Maurice, who is known to have been an Armenian, as haunted by this deed in later years, mainly because it was perpetrated against fellow Armenians.²⁷

Neither Theophanes nor his source (Trajan?) for the legend of Maurice's repentance could have had any clearer idea of the time when Maurice failed to ransom the prisoners. John of Antioch gave only the vaguest suggestion of a date. It is understandable that Theophanes and his source thought the event should have taken place along with the events that led to Maurice's 602 overthrow.

The problem of dating the failure to ransom the captives is part of the wider problem of comparing Theophanes' minor sources to Theophylact, his major source. There are surprisingly few points of contact between incidents like the Philippikos-Maurice rivalry in Theophanes and John of Antioch and the campaigns of Maurice's generals during the same period of time in Theophylact. There was simply no way to relate information about Philippikos to a narrative that discussed the deeds of Peter, Priskos and Komentiolos in Thrace. In fact, as far as the history of Theophylact is concerned, Philippikos did not play any role in Maurice's reign after the final peace in the East with Persia in 591, as we discussed in chapter six of this dissertation. A final determination about Theophanes' version of Maurice's "revelation" can be made because of our resolution of the Philippikos and Peter confusion in Theophylact's History. Because Theophylact was silent about Philippikos, Theophanes' source (Trajan?) was free to embellish the interview between Maurice and Philippikos, making it incredible in the process. Our remaining task in this chapter is to suggest what stimulated Trajan's special interest in Philippikos, a man of an earlier age (the reign of Maurice 582-602).

Trajan the Patrician

No manuscript of Trajan's chronicle exists. It is known solely from the testimony of the Suidae Lexicon, a tenth century work whose author read Trajan's chronicle and described it in the Suda [as the Suidae Lexicon will be called henceforth]. The entry for Trajan is short, but interesting:

Traianos the patrician. He flourished in the time of Justinian Rhinotmetos. This man wrote a chronicle, concise and extremely marvelous. And he was very Christian and very orthodox [Χριστιανικώτατος και ὀρθόδοξώτατος].²⁸

Other scholars have interpreted this short entry in the Suda in such a way as to make Trajan's work a source used by Theophanes, George the Monk and George Cedrenus for events in Constantinople, Bulgaria and the Near East but only during the reign of Justinian II.²⁹ The assumption of these scholars is that Trajan wrote only about events for which he was a contemporary. He "flourished in the time of Justinian Rhinotmetos", so his chronicle included only information about that period.

Trajan's work could well have been of another sort altogether. It is described by the Suda as a "concise chronicle" [χρονικὸν σύντομον] but can we be sure that this "concise" label adequately describes Trajan's work? Perhaps it depends on the meaning of "concise". The conciseness of the chronicle may come from the size of each annal and not the small number of

annals included. In fact, a chronicle may cover any number of years and still be considered "concise" because it has only limited information for the years it covers.³⁰ The remainder of the Suda's description points to another sort of chronicle, one of somewhat different scope and content. Its author was of the high senatorial rank of patrician, but his chronicle was 'very marvelous' in a way that showed its author to be "very orthodox". One imagines a work that touches upon the heresies and religious issues of the seventh century and that describes the chief events where divine providence played a role. It is difficult to imagine a strictly political and military history described in such terms.

We are attempting to link information in Theophanes about Philippikos-Bardanes and Maurice in such a way as to demonstrate its origin in the lost seventh century chronicle of Trajan. Only someone writing at the time when Trajan was writing would have linked Philippikos to Maurice's prayers of request for divine punishment in this life. We attempt to show this by examining the context in which a Trajan may have been writing ca. 711 and explaining in what respects Trajan was "very Christian" and "very orthodox".

The Patrician Circle of the Chronicler Trajan
and Its Champion Philippikos Bardanes

This study now turns to the second Philippikos in Byzantine imperial history. This Philippikos actually became emperor. He was Philippikos Bardanes, ruling for two years and nine months after he deposed Justinian II Rhinotmetos in 711 and sent his severed head to Rome.³¹ He himself, of course, was soon deposed and blinded by Anastasius II (Artemios) in 713.³² According to our sources, Philippikos came to power for two separate reasons. On the one hand, his purpose was to end the bloodthirsty reign of Justinian II. On the other hand, his goal was to overturn the rulings of the Sixth Oecumenical Council, the one which condemned Monotheletism.³³ These two different motivations for Philippikos gave rise to two separate historical traditions about him. The first is that of the deliverer of the empire from Justinian II. The second is that of a Monothelite heretic.³⁴ The first of these two traditions is the primary concern of this study. It is concluded that the historian Trajan wrote about Philippikos as a pro-senatorial deliverer from the lunacy of Justinian II. Philippikos' name (he was simply "Bardanes" before he became emperor), the traces of his past found in the sources, and parallels with the Philippikos of

the reign of Maurice, are used to distinguish a history that must have been written during his reign and presumably by Trajan.

There are two or more versions of the years during and immediately after Justinian Rhinotmetos' reign. However, they are intertwined in Theophanes' Chronographia so as to appear to be one. The two versions happen to coincide with the two historical traditions about Philippikos. One version stresses the excesses of Justinian, especially his bloodthirstiness, much more than does the other, because it seeks to justify the deposition of Justinian. The second version is more a straightforward narrative of the events of Justinian's reign. For example, although both mention that an army of Slavs that Justinian had colonized in Cappadocia deserted to the Arabs, the first version adds that Justinian proceeded to slaughter the women and children whom those Slavs left behind. This may be what did happen, but only the first version thought it significant.³⁵ This and other instances reveal a source intent only on cataloguing Justinian's wrongdoings.

Nicephorus' Breviarium provides the means to distinguish the second of these versions from the first, because Nicephorus used the second version exclusively and presents it in the Breviarium in a form that is a very close paraphrase of

Theophanes' text. Because both texts are close enough in content, one can determine immediately at which points additional information from the first version (Version A) has been added by Theophanes. Most of the time the two versions agree, but from studying their differences we can discern the following: (1.) the approach of the first version (Version A), the one which underlines Justinian's excesses, (2.) when and why Version A was written and (3.) at what points it can be reunited with the earlier parts of Theophanes (concerning the reign of Maurice) which belong with it. This chapter does not consider the relationship of Nicephorus' Breviarium to Theophanes' Chronographia, a topic which is taken up only in the next full chapter. Nicephorus' work is introduced here only as a document that supports internal evidence within the Chronographia that the two sources were intermingled by Theophanes for the years 685-713. The first version is designated Version A (which we believe Trajan the Patrician wrote) and the second as Version B.

The name Philippikos is of special importance to this investigation. It first appears for the reign of Justinian II in Theophanes within A.M. 6194 (702)³⁶ in the notice that a Philippikos, the son of the patrician Nicephorus, was banished to Cephalaria by Apsimar Tiberius. This passage is

from Version A. However, he was not actually given this name until 711,³⁷ for there can be little doubt that Philippikos' name was Bardanes before he was acclaimed emperor. The Armenian name Bardanes was changed later to Philippikos, in order to make his usurpation more acceptable to the citizenry of the capital. Although Version A went so far as to link him with a patrician family, Version B regarded him simply as an Armenian and a Monothelite heretic.

In addition, Philippikos becoming emperor was prophesied in two different versions in Theophanes. In the first version (A), Apsimar, who exiled him in 702, did so because Philippikos dreamed that he fell under the shadow of an eagle,³⁸ and interpreted the dream to mean that he would someday become emperor. In the second version (B) an heretical monk predicted that Philippikos would become emperor if he would promise to overthrow the decrees of the Sixth Ecumenical Council as soon as he took the throne.³⁹ This prophecy, which in Version B also resulted in an exile to Cephalaria, took place in Justinian II's first reign, but Philippikos did not act upon it until Justinian was overthrown in 695 under Leontius and Apsimar Tiberius.

It appears that what is in effect the same prophecy has been interpreted in different ways. The first is version A,

which is a strictly secular interpretation, one betraying no knowledge of or interest in the alleged heresy of Philippikos. It was probably written before Philippikos began his program against the Sixth General Council, which is to say that it was written in 711 or 712. For the same reasons, the second version of the prophecy must have been written later, by those critical of Philippikos' heresy. Since Apsimar Tiberius knew (according to Version B, the one containing the monk's prophecy) of Philippikos' alleged heresy, Version B must have been written after Philippikos' reign. This version was designed to explain Philippikos' lapse into heresy.

The two prophecies about Philippikos' destiny to rule one day the empire lead us to two widely different relationships alleged between Justinian II and Philippikos. The first is a close association between Justinian and Philippikos. When Justinian returned to his throne in 705 he recalled Philippikos from his Cephalonian exile.⁴⁰ Justinian must have known the reason for Philippikos' banishment (his alleged aspirations for the throne), yet, Justinian trusted Philippikos enough to send him along with Elias on the expedition to Cherson.

However, Version B as represented in Nicephorus' Breviarium states that Justinian intended that Bardanes be

left behind in Cherson in exile.⁴¹ This is the opposite relationship between Philippikos and Justinian. Furthermore, in Version B this exile prompts Philippikos to rebel against Justinian. This is the Philippikos Bardanes of Nicephorus' Breviarium. Version A reports Philippikos as having been a close associate of Justinian; Version B, written later, dissociates them entirely as Philippikos went along on the expedition to Cherson not as important Roman officer, but as a virtual prisoner.

One can now compile a brief portrait for each of these two Philippikoi. Version A portrays Philippikos as a patrician in the highest court circles, a man with no expectation to become emperor while Justinian II reigned. Only after Justinian was deposed in 695 did Philippikos make a grab for power. This earned him his exile to Cephalaria. Moreover, he was returned from Cephalaria as a support for Justinian during the six-year second reign (705-711). Philippikos, according to Version A was with Justinian until the very end, when Justinian's excesses had finally exceeded all limits. In other words, Philippikos was the appropriate and legitimate Byzantine to whom the empire turned when Justinian could not be redeemed.

On the other hand, The Philippikos of Version B was a known heretic whom all scorned. He seized power illegitimately.

Germanos of Cyzicus

Interestingly, according to this Version B, Philippikos was helped in his heretical designs by bishop Germanos of Cyzicus.⁴² Germanos later became patriarch of Constantinople in 715, during the reign of Anastasius II, who overthrew Philippikos.⁴³ The source that put Germanos in such a negative light must have been written during Leo the III's reign (717-741). It was this emperor who carried out a campaign against Germanos that resulted in the bishop's resignation in 730.⁴⁴ However, Germanos must have been a supporter of Philippikos, but only much later would this support be depicted in such a bad light. To have supported Philippikos in 717 was certainly considered sound, orthodox policy at the time. Version B as found in Nicephorus' Breviarium provides the interesting insight that the supporters of Philippikos were the patriarch John (VI), bishop Germanos, other priests and "most of the senators".⁴⁵ Here Version B may be listing the nucleus of those who opposed Justinian and who produced the chronicler, "Trajan".

Perhaps Germanos' role was to help determine the sources of opposition to Justinian. This nucleus opposed Justinian's religious policies as well as his political activities for Justinian sought to impose uniformity on the entire church, Rome included, in the Quinisext or Trullan Council (591).⁴⁶

It was called "Quinisext", the 5th-6th Council, because it did not enunciate new dogma. It was a council concerned with discipline within the whole church, and was apparently not seen at the time as a separate conciliar entity. Germanos wrote a work about councils and heresies⁴⁷ in which he condemned Philippikos' Monothelite leanings and the synod that the emperor assembled. This is a denial of Germanos' attachment to Philippikos' heresy, but not to his party in 711. Furthermore, this does not rule out that Germanos shared Philippikos' aversion to Justinian's religious policies. Theophanes states that Germanos assisted Philippikos in an attack on the Sixth Council. It is difficult to ignore this information. Curiously, in his work on the "councils and heresies", Germanos neglects to mention Justinian's Trullan council (691). The same is true of Nicephorus' Breviarium.⁴⁸ What, then was the relationship of the opponents of Justinian II in 711 and the Sixth General Council of the Orthodox Catholic Church?

The passages point to the conclusion that Justinian's Council was considered at the time to be merely a continuation of the Sixth Council. It took place only a short time later and took up the disciplinary matters that the Sixth Council avoided in 680-681.⁴⁹ It is highly unlikely that Philippikos and those who helped overthrow Justinian would not have

attacked this so-called "Quinisext" Council, if they attacked the Sixth. Justinian's Quinisext generated controversy that is recorded in the Liber Pontificalis.⁵⁰ Twenty years after the Quinisext and thirty years after the Sixth Council, Philippikos and Germanos, patriarch John and the senatorial class attacked elements of the Sixth Council and Justinian's associated Quinisext. In other words, these groups may have attacked not the dogmas of the Sixth Council, but the authoritarian disciplinary canons of the Quinisext.⁵¹ This thus explains the relationship between Germanos and Philippikos. The existence of this temporary alliance was of great use for Germanos' enemies later on when Germanos was patriarch and his opponents could point to his opposition to the Sixth Council in 712 prior to his patriarchy.

Patriarch Kallinikos

This adds another element to the portrait of Philippikos Bardanes. Supporting him at the time of his usurpation were the senate and important ecclesiastics like Germanos. This explains why Justinian's head was sent immediately to Rome. Rome, too, sponsored the movement to remove Justinian because of Rome's opposition to Justinian's Council. Therefore, this matter of Philippikos' Council that is included in Version B supports the difference between the portrait of Philippikos

in Version A and in Version B. In the first, Philippikos appears as the darling of the city and the senate, the man who is to deliver them from Justinian's vengeance. Later, when Version B was written, Philippikos was foremost a heretic, opposition to Justinian's religious policies having been long forgotten.

Other examples that come from Version A (additions in Theophanes that find no parallel in Nicephorus' Breviarium) magnify Justinian's ruinous policies. To a passage from Version B that describes the deeds of two officials of Justinian, Stephen the Persian and Theodotos the abbot,⁵² Version A adds that Justinian spent his time on palace construction of a surrounding wall,⁵³ and that the "prefect" locked up a great many men in prison "at imperial command".⁵⁴ Version B clearly meant to blame Justinian's officials.

Stephen the Persian committed a blameworthy deed "while Justinian was out of town"⁵⁵ in Version B. The two sources, describing virtually the same situation and even the same officials [Stephen the Persian could well have been the "prefect" acting "at imperial command"], approach the matter of blame in totally different ways. Moreover, in both versions, within the annal for A.M.6186(694), the statement is made that Justinian was increasingly hated by his people,⁵⁶ a further

illustration that Theophanes merged both versions in this annal.

To conclude this annal, in which Justinian aroused the people's hatred, Theophanes introduced evidence about the relationship of Justinian with the Patriarch Kallinikos I (694-705). Justinian wanted to build a bath for the Green faction on the site of a church⁵⁷, and for this the patriarch was forced to deconsecrate the ground. Version B does not mention this incident. This later source also does not acknowledge the patriarch's unhappiness with Justinian and the patriarch's active role in Justinian's overthrow. In Version B, Kallinikos was "forced" to give his approval to the uprising against Justinian.⁵⁸ On the other hand, Version A, which is carefully intertwined with Version B in annal A.M.6187(695) begins with the statement that Justinian ordered a general of patrician rank to kill the "people" [οἱ λαοί] of Constantinople and to start the purge with the patriarch.⁵⁹ Because of this addition from Version A, the patriarch was not "forced" to give his blessing to the revolt, since he was already aroused against Justinian by the things the general had been ordered to do, namely, to kill the patriarch.⁶⁰ In effect, Version A enlisted the patriarch on the side of those rebelling against an emperor, Justinian II, who was both orthodox and legitimate, but gone mad. The later version (B) removed the patriarch from the controversy.

Further additions from the "Trajan" source (A) make its intent clear. Both Version A and Version B narrate Justinian's restoration in 705. He came back from Cherson, was nearly lost at sea in a storm, and made an alliance with Tervel the Bulgarian, who was instrumental in Justinian's recovery of his throne.⁶¹ What Version B failed to mention which Version A quoted directly was Justinian's defiant statement during the storm on the Black Sea near the mouths of the Dnieper and Dniester Rivers. He said "may God drown me now if he intends that I spare any of them [those who dethroned him]."⁶² Version A offers a clear and simplistic portrait of an emperor who, despite his orthodoxy and legitimacy, had exceeded the bounds of justifiable imperial authority.⁶³

Myakes or Theodore the Patrician

Theodore the patrician, nicknamed "myakios" ["the mussel", also given in Theophanes as Myakes], exists in a thumbnail sketch in Theophanes⁶⁴ that allows the compilation of a model biography of someone from the circle of those who overthrew Justinian in 711 and also the circle of the patrician Trajan, who wrote of their motives. Myakes was with Justinian during his return from Cherson in 705. When Justinian and his followers were caught in the storm off the Black Sea coast,

Myakes (according to Version A in Theophanes) suggested to Justinian that he ask God to save them from drowning by promising to "take revenge against none of his enemies".⁶⁵ Myakes was the voice of moderation within the imperial and court circles. One can imagine Myakes reporting this conversation verbatim to Trajan. No mention is made of it in Version B.

Version B is, however, the source for the subsequent career of Myakes (Theodore the patrician). He survived the remaining years of Justinian II and may have played a role in the overthrow by Philippikos. It is certain that he was not out of favor or persecuted by Philippikos, even though he was closely associated with Justinian before 711. This is consistent with the finding that Philippikos, too, was part of Justinian's courtly circle until the end of his reign. However, by May 11 of 713 Myakes was one of those who conspired against Philippikos and blinded him.⁶⁶ This was not to leave Myakes in peace, for, a few days after Anastasius II (Artemius, 713-715) was proclaimed Philippikos' successor, the new emperor had Myakes blinded.⁶⁷ The great plan to remove a legitimate emperor, Justinian II, and to replace him with a second Philippikos ended with Myakes blinded and exiled to Thessalonika.

This same Trajan who wrote of Justinian's orders to kill patriarch Kallinikos, of his hope to destroy all of his enemies in 705, of his being hated for ordering his officials to imprison leading men of the city for years and who wrote of Philippikos as one destined to depose Justinian for the good of all, may well have given us the legendary version of Maurice's downfall. In 602 Philippikos was designated as the successor to Maurice, a fate which Maurice, more or less, accepted. Philippikos hoped to retire Maurice and Maurice's family to Chrysapolis, rather than destroy them all. In 705 Justinian, on the other hand, resisted Myakes' advice to earn God's favor by sparing his enemies. The result was destruction and perhaps eternal damnation for Justinian II. It was Phocas, not Philippikos, who overthrew Maurice and Philippikos who later overthrew Justinian. Maurice did not suffer the humiliation of death at the hands of his brother-in-law, Philippikos. Justinian II was executed at the order of his high-ranking, patrician successor Philippikos. For Trajan Maurice was among the saints and served as a model for everyone. Justinian was his unrepentant opposite, who went to his death unlamented. Trajan the patrician, the very orthodox and very Christian author of a "concise chronicle", fashioned this "very

miraculous" version of the fall of Maurice and the fall of Justinian.⁶⁸

Footnotes to Chapter VI

¹Theophanes, 284.21-286.14.

²John of Antioch, FHG, V, fragment 218b, ἐξήτουν φονεῖσθαι Μαυρίκιον. The use by John of Antioch of the verb φονεῖσθαι could be the source of the entire explanation for Maurice's suspicion of Philippikos, that is, based on the first letter in Philippikos' name. There is no source that states that it was predicted that someone whose name began with the same letter as does the word for "murderer" would kill him. The concern about the letter φ may have developed later when students of Maurice's reign could not otherwise explain Maurice's suspicions about Philippikos.

³ἐπέτρεψεν.

⁴Ibid., fragment 218d, ὅτι ὑπαρῆτο Μαυρίκιος εἰς τὸν στρατὸν θράνης καὶ εἰς τὸν γαμβρὸν Φιλιππικόν, καὶ εἶδεν ἀποκαλύψιν ὁ Μαυρίκιος ὅτι ἴστατο ἐν τῷ προχωρῶ μαριάρῳ τῆς Χαλκίδος; καὶ ἔλεγεν αὐτῷ "ποῦ θέλεις ἀποδώσω σοι, ὅδε ἢ ἐν τῷ μέλλοντι;" ὁ δὲ εἶπεν "ὄδε". καὶ τότε ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτὸν ἐκδοθῆναι φοιτᾶ στρατιώτῃ, καὶ διυπνίσθη. Ἐποῦθρον οὖν μετάνοιαν τῷ Φιλιππικῷ ὁ Μαυρίκιος.

⁵Anastasius Sinaites, "Questiones", PG 89, 501D. This particular work may actually be that of an eighth century bishop by the same name.

⁶Ibid. The work is a series of questions with the author's answers to them. At this point he has been asked why pious men sometimes suffer torment.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Dvornik, Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy, II, 722-723, the νόμος ἐμψυχός incarnated in the emperor cannot violate itself.

⁹Theophanes, 285.6, φεῖ γράμμα δοιμαζόμενον.

¹⁰φονεὺς.

¹¹Theophanes, 280.11-19, A.M. 6092 (600). Before the Chalke incident the army sent representatives (ἐντολικαριοί) to Maurice, one of whom was Phocas. Ibid., "he spoke excitedly with the emperor and contradicted him in the silentium" (a hearing before senate and emperor). Maurice was definitely present to confront Phocas and he was directly insulted.

¹²John of Antioch, FHG, V, fragment 218b indicates the same thing about Phocas at an uncertain date. However, the element of a personal confrontation is not certain in this source. Phocas merely 'opposed' the emperor. The editor Müller dates this incident to 599.

¹³Theophanes, 260.2-4 and supra, chap. v, p.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, De ceremoniis, ed. Vogt, I, 170.

¹⁶Ernst Kitzinger, "Icons Before Iconoclasm", DOP 8(1954), 102 note 63 where the author also cites Mango's as yet unpublished Ph.D. diss. However, Mango [The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople (Copenhagen, 1959), 111, footnote 13] retreated from Kitzinger's view. This view hoped to date the Chalke Icon to ca. 600, on the basis of Theophanes' version of Maurice's dream.

The icon's origins may be of later date. We suggest the reign of Justinian II (685-695 and 705-711). This emperor was the originator of other icon-oriented tendencies such as the appearance of Christ on coins. The elaboration of the icon's role in the Maurice legend would have served at the time to support a new attitude towards icons and to justify the erection of the Christ icon on the Chalke Gate. The previous picture at Chalke may have been of Constantine the Great (or his statue, cf. Mango, Brazen House, 108-109) in the same way that coins before Justinian only depicted the emperor. A new tendency associated with Justinian can also be found in the Trullan (Quinisext) Council of 692. Its eighty-second decree ordered that the image of Christ should replace the lamb of God in Christain painting. In effect, the empire was beginning to seek divine protection as expressed through icons, perhaps as a means to exaggerate the divine source of Justinian's authority.

Mango, Brazen House, 111, comes to the conclusion that the "inclusion of Christ's image in the story of Maurice's dream was made during the Iconoclastic period, when the Chalke icon won great notoriety and when it would have been opportune to put a quasi-miraculous incident to its credit".

¹⁷Ibid., 142-148, points out that ἀνταγωνιστής was not a term originally meaning "talking" icon and probably did not refer to the icon of the Chalke type in any event.

¹⁸Theophylact, 305.19-24.

¹⁹Possibly as early as 597 when he was deathly ill and made Dometianus of Melitene regent-designate (Ibid., 306).

²⁰Theophanes, 286.11-14.

²¹Theophylact, 305.19-24.

²²John of Antioch, FHG, V, fragment 218b, ὅτι σκανδαλίσσεις ὁ Μαυρίκιος ἐπὶ τῷ μνηθῆναι διὰ τὸ προσδοῖναι τὴν ἀρχιμωλίαν.

²³Muller, FHG, V, notes to fragment 218b.

²⁴Compare Theophanes, 280.1-8 and Theophylact, 273.1-11.

²⁵Theophylact, 305.20.

²⁶Ibid., 306; 254.20-255.12 and Theophanes, 252.24 which indicates that Maurice was forty-three at the start of his reign.

²⁷See Appendix A.

²⁸Suidae Lexicon, ed. A. Adler, IV, 582.17-19.

²⁹Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heracleian Dynasty", 433, "Theophanes' chief source and Nicephorus' only source for the reign of Justinian II and the intervening reigns of Leontius (695-8) and Tiberius III Apsimarus (698-705) was the non-extant Byzantine chronicle tradition which has been identified with the Chronicon Syntomon of the patrician Trajan and which provided an exposition of events in Constantinople with especial reference to the violent upheavels of the imperial throne, of the Empire in its external relations with the Bulgars and Slavs, and a selective account of Byzantino-Arab relations" (the exact passages in Theophanes that she links to this source follow). This is a laundry list of every item in Theophanes that has not been otherwise accounted for. Apparently, however, even this author would not limit Trajan's chronicle to only the years of Justinian II (685-711) because she speculates that the closest approximation to Trajan may be the "primitive Breviarium of the London codex" (Ibid., 432). This codex of the Breviarium includes the years 610-713. On the Breviarium and London Codex see infra, chap. vii. Constance Head, Justinian II of Byzantium (Madison, 1974), 14-16, and Louis Orosz, The London Manuscript of Nikephoros' 'Breviarium' (Budapest, 1948), 3-12, each have a theory about the relationship of this London Codex to a source contemporary with the end of the reign of Justinian II.

³⁰The title of Nicephorus' Breviarium is a case in point. It covers one hundred sixty-odd years in very few pages. Photius, the earliest person to refer to it by title, called the Breviarium a ἱστορικὸν σύντομον (see infra, chap. vii, for a discussion of this title and references). When applied to literary works, σύντομος appears to mean "concise" rather than "brief in chronological scope".

³¹Theophanes, 381.5-6 and Nicephorus, 47.22-23.

³²Theophanes, 383.5-17 and Nicephorus, 49.1-16.

³³Theophanes, 381.6-22 and 382.10-11 and Nicephorus, 48.9.

³⁴Tinnefeld, 59-60, finds only one "very negative picture" of Philippikos Bardanes in both Theophanes and Nicephorus, and "above all" in Theophanes. Theophanes is found to be simply "ein erster Fall von Diffamierung aus religiösen Motiven vorliegen".

³⁵Theophanes, 366.20-23 (Version A).

³⁶Ibid., 372.7-11.

³⁷Ibid., 379.12-14 and Nicephorus, 46.26.

³⁸Theophanes, 372.7-11.

³⁹Ibid., 381.6-20.

⁴⁰Ibid., 378.25.

⁴¹Nicephorus, 44.26.

⁴²Theophanes, 382.10-21 and Nicephorus, 48.8-14.

⁴³Theophanes, 384.17-385.4.

⁴⁴Ibid., 409.2-14.

⁴⁵Nicephorus, 48.8-14.

⁴⁶Mansi, 11, cols. 921-1006. Cf. Head, Justinian II, 72-79 and Franz Görries, "Justinian II und das römische Papsttum", BZ 17(1908), 432-454.

⁴⁷De haeresibus et synodis, PG 98, 76-77.

⁴⁸Theophanes, 361-362, included the council within A.M. 6177 (686), which was the start of Justinian's reign rather than the proper year (692) for the council. The passage is actually a scholion that goes on to mention mid-ninth century patriarch unknown to Theophanes himself. It is a passage neither from Version A nor Version B. Head, Justinian II, 70, suggests that Nicephorus and Theophanes (excepting the scholion) do not mention the Quinisext Council because of bias against Justinian II. Her opinion is part of her attempt to rehabilitate Justinian. It is not a good explanation for why such an allegedly important council of the orthodox church was ignored unanimously by contemporary sources.

⁴⁹Dölger, Regesten, 30, for the dates of this council and the sources for it.

⁵⁰Liber Pontificalis, ed. L. Duchesne (3 vols.; 1886; reprint, Paris, 1955), I, 372-378.

⁵¹Four decrees forbid Armenian practises which might have been offensive to Philippikos Bardanes the Armenian (cf. Head, 69-70). Apparent Roman (papal) practises meet censure in canons 56, 67, 73 and 82 (Head, 76-77). Pope Sergius refused to sign the Tomes sent him from the council.

⁵²Theophanes, 367.15-29 and Nicephorus, 37.11-23.

⁵³Theophanes, 367.12-14.

⁵⁴Ibid., 367.30-31, ὁ ἐπαρχος βασιλικῇ κελεύσει.

⁵⁵Ibid., 367.18-19, βασιλέως ἀποδημήσαντος and Nicephorus, 37.14.

⁵⁶Theophanes, 367.22, for Version B, μισητὸν τὸν βασιλέα πεποίηκεν and 367.31-32 for Version A, ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιβόησε τὸ μῖσος τοῦ λαοῦ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. Note that these two statements are within ten lines of one another and occur within the same annal.

⁵⁷Theophanes, 367.32-368.11, including Kallinikos' exact words to the emperor.

⁵⁸Nicephorus, 38.25, βιάζεται κατελθεῖν καὶ φωνῆσαι πρὸς τὸν λαόν, "αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος".

⁵⁹Theophanes, 368.15-18, νυκτὸς ἀποικτεῖναι τὸν δῆμον Κονσταντινουπόλεως, ἄρξασθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου.

⁶⁰Ibid., 369.19-22, εὐρὼν δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τετραραγμένον διὰ τὰ κελειοθέντα τῷ πατρικίῳ Στεφάνῳ τῷ Ρουσίου πείθει αὐτὸν κατελθεῖν εἰς τὸν λουτήρα καὶ φωνῆσαι οὕτως, "αὕτη ἡ ἡμέρα, ἦν ἐποίησεν ὁ κύριος".

⁶¹Theophanes, 372.26-374.23, A.M. 6196 (704) and 6197 (705) and Nicephorus, 40.17-42.10.

⁶²Theophanes, 373.28-29, "ἐὰν φείσωμαι τινος ἐξ αὐτῶν, ὁ θεὸς ἐνταῦθά με καταποντίσει."

⁶³There are two other significant remnants of Version A in Theophanes. The Khazar khagan made a statement that is quoted by Theophanes about the fleet Justinian sent to retrieve his wife Theodora, the khagan's daughter (Theophanes, 375.23-25, cf. Nicephorus, 43.6-9). Also, Trajan or Version A states that Justinian killed all the horses of the Roman army trapped at Anchialus by the Bulgars (Theophanes, 376.26-29, cf. Nicephorus, 43.9-18). In both these instances the A Version makes Justinian's behavior more extravagant and gives the impression of a more firsthand and personal record of events, that is, of an earlier, more contemporary, source than Version B, as found in Nicephorus.

⁶⁴Theophanes, 373.23, 383.13 and 383.20. He is mentioned once in the Breviarium (Nicephorus, 49.10).

⁶⁵Theophanes, 373.23-26, Μυρσής δὲ οὐκ ἐκινεῖται αὐτοῦ ἀνδραποδιστῆς, ἔφη αὐτῷ, "ἰδοὺ ἀποσπῆσθαι μεν, θέσπαια, τῷ πατρὶ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας σου, ἵνα, ἐὰν ὁ θεὸς ἀποστείλῃ σοι τὴν βασιλείαν σου, μηδένα ἀμύνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου." The language in this statement is very much like that in Maurice's dream (Theophanes, 284.21ff.)

⁶⁶Ibid., 383.13 and Nicephorus, 49.9-10.

⁶⁷Theophanes, 383.20 and Nicephorus, 49.21-24.

⁶⁸Parallels of language usage as well as subject matter exist between Version A (Trajan) for the reign of Justinian and the earlier materials Theophanes added to Theophylact for the reign of Maurice. For example, the author is consistently fond of quoted speech. One noted that many of the differences between Trajan (Version A) and Version B was Version A's inclusion of a quoted statement by one of the characters involved.

The author of Version A was fond of certain words and expressions that are not found used in the same way anywhere else in Theophanes. ὀρεῖλοντας, ὀρεῖλοντα, etc., meaning "expecting to" or "anticipating" is used only in passages that we can link to Trajan (Version A). Theophanes, 379.1-2, the toudounos (khazar official) and Zoilos "expected to be restored as before in Cherson". The same incident is expressed in different language in the Breviarium (Nicephorus, 45.28-46.1). Theophanes, 272.24, Philippikos offered the palace at Chrysapolis to Maurice and family "expecting" that the emperor might retire there. Ibid., 377.32, Elias "expects to be ruler of Cherson" after Justinian's expedition to punish Cherson is completed. This usage of the verb shows up in the famous story about the early career of Leo the Isaurian during the reign of Justinian (Theophanes, 391.27). Although the story of Leo as Justinian's spatharios is placed by Theophanes under A.M. 6209 (718) so as to introduce Leo III's reign, the story belongs earlier and has all the signs of belonging with the other parts of Version A. Bury thought the story so accurate that it must have been written down by Leo himself. The passage could well be from Version A (Trajan) because it stands by itself as another example of Justinian's irrational ingratitude towards loyal subjects (Theophanes, 391.6-395.2).

Τῆς βασιλείας ὀρεγομένον is also an expression that distinguishes Version A (Trajan) from other materials in Theophanes. Germanos (Theophanes, 293.11, which is misplaced in A.M. 6098 as discussed *supra*, chap. v) "craved the throne" just as Justinian suspected that Leo "craved the throne" (Theophanes, 391.12-13).

One entire passage from the reign of Justinian echoes a similar situation in the reign of Maurice and both passages may have been part of a complete Version A (Trajan). The topic in each case was ransom:

τοῦ δὲ Χαγάνου λόγον αὐτοὺς ὑπαιτῆσαντος τοῦ μὴ προδοθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ κομίσασθαι αὐτὸν κατὰ ἄνδρα ἅνδ' νομίσματα ἑνός, οἱ δὲ παραχρήμα δόντες παρέλαβον τὸν Φιλίππικόν βασιλέα.

(Theophanes, 379.26-380.3)

Ἐγὼ δὲ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους ἀποδίδωμι αὐτῷ κατὰ ψυχὴν νόμισμα ἓν κομίζόμενος παρ' αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ Μαυρίκιος οὐκ ἠνέρχετο δοῦναι· καὶ πάλιν ὁ χαγάνος ἤτηρατο ἅνδ' ἡμισσοὺς λαβεῖν κατὰ ψυχὴν, καὶ οὐδ' οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς δοῦναι κατεδέξατο, ἔλλ' οὐδὲ τεσσαρῶν κερατίων λαβεῖν. καὶ θυμωθεὶς ὁ χαγάνος πάντας ἀπέκτεινε.

(Theophanes, 280.3-8)

The *Breviarium* (Nicephorus, 46.26-47.1) provides a different version of the first of these two ransom negotiations. He implies that only Philippikos was being ransomed, not a large number of Roman soldiers. Version A (Trajan), the contemporary source, reports that a price per head was agreed upon. Contrast the following:

ὁ δὲ ὄρκους ἐμπεδοῖ τὸ Ῥωμαϊκὸν πλῆθος περὶ τῆς Βαρδάνου σωτηρίας χρήματα αὐτοὺς παραδόμενος κατ' ἄνδρα ἑκατὸν νομίσματα εἰληφώς. (Nicephorus, 46.26-47.1)

The price of Philippikos' ransom has been raised to make sense of Version A. The actual situation seems to have been that Philippikos was not in any particular danger, that the khagan was paid to allow the entire Roman army to leave and proceed to Constantinople and to crown Philippikos emperor.

The parallels between the ransom denied by Maurice and the Version A ransom in Theophanes' account of Justinian's last year may stem directly from the purpose of the "concise chronicle" of Trajan the patrician. On the one hand, Maurice was unwilling to ransom Romans from an Avar khagan. This was the beginning of his downfall. On the other hand, the Romans (Trajan's circle?) willing to pay the ransom asked for Roman soldiers, recovered a legitimate replacement for Justinian. Thus, their rise to power began.

In any case, the manner of expression of the two passages that are more than one hundred years apart in Theophanes' *Chronographia* is an important additional support for the relationships suggested in this chapter.

PART FOUR

A CHRONICLER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES:

THE DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THEOPHANES

CHAPTER VII

A CHRONICLER AND HIS CONTEMPORARY:
THEOPHANES AND PATRIARCH NICEPHORUS

This chapter compares the historical methods of Theophanes and Patriarch Nicephorus (d.829)¹ by contrasting the Chronographia with Nicephorus' Breviarium.² The latter provides a history of the years ca. 602 to 769 which are also in the Chronographia. Unfortunately, both rely on the same source for the eight century, up to 769. This is the Tradition B discussed in the previous chapter and it continues through the reign of Leo III (d.741) to nearly the end of the reign of Constantine V (d.775). The quality of this source has been carefully investigated by scholars who compared Nicephorus and Theophanes in search of clues about when and by whom such a source was written.³ Although these scholars disagree on the time and circumstances, they agree that Theophanes and Nicephorus relied directly on it. We accept this consensus on the eight century and return to the seventh century for the comparison made in this chapter.

Our purpose is to show that Nicephorus wrote under the influence of contemporary trends much more than Theophanes, underscoring the uniqueness of Theophanes' effort as it has emerged in the preceding chapters. Of course, every man is influenced by his own times, but Theophanes appears detached from and uninterested in the present when compared to Nicephorus. Our conclusion relates only to the usefulness of these two historical works. It is that the Chronographia must be preferred to the Breviarium because it lies closer to the primary sources.

The first difference between these two histories lies in their relationship to Theophylact's History. As earlier chapters demonstrate, Theophanes labored long and hard over Theophylact's text, whereas Nicephorus had the easier task of writing a continuation of Theophylact. Although Nicephorus may have imitated Theophylact's writing in the process, this is just what one would expect from someone like Nicephorus, who was raised in the Greek literary tradition.⁴ Nicephorus assumed that Theophylact's work would survive and be read by later generations. He merely added a sequel to the History.

Limited manuscript evidence and Photius' Bibliotheca support the likelihood that Nicephorus consciously picked up where Theophylact left off. Nicephorus' Breviarium (Brief History) is the 66th item in Photius' ninth century Bibliotheca, and Theophylact's History precedes it as number 65.⁵ The sole manuscript of the full text of the Breviarium (the version that includes all the years from 602-769) is also in the same manuscript that contains Theophylact's History, with the Breviarium copied directly after it in a different scribal hand⁶ (The manuscript is Vaticanus Graecus 977 of the 11th or 12th century). This manuscript continuity is not conclusive, but it leaves the impression that not just Photius and the manuscript copyists, but the author himself regarded his work as a continuation of Theophylact.

The title of the Breviarium lends further support for this argument. "Breviarium" is more a librarian's description than an author's title. Photius called it a "brief little history"⁷ while the later 11th or 12 century manuscript, according to de Boor's edition, echoes Photius' designation, calling it the Breviarium.⁸ In our view, the Breviarium was probably Nicephorus' untitled continuation of Theophylact.

The only other manuscript of the Breviarium is the so-called London Codex (British Museum Add Ms. 19390), a manuscript of the ninth century which is attached to no other histories and has no title. The London Codex is shorter than Vaticanus Graecus 977, ending in ca. 713 and may be an earlier, rough draft of the Breviarium.⁹ The two manuscripts together leave

an impression that the author was certain when he wanted to start his history, since Theophylact's history ended with the murder of Maurice and the Breviarium's incipit is "After the murder of Maurice..." Nicephorus appears to have been less certain where his continuation would end.

Although the evidence suggests that Nicephorus meant to continue a procession of the Byzantine historians that includes Procopius, Agathias, John of Epiphaneia and Theophylact, the Breviarium in both versions is a disappointment because of its unusual brevity and failure to continue into the period Nicephorus knew the most about, namely 769 to his death in 829. The only real clue as to why Nicephorus did not finish this work is the marriage of Leo the Khazar to Irene the Athenian in 769, the last event in the "complete" (602-769) Breviarium. Nicephorus may have ended here because he thought it safer to include nothing more about the empress than her marriage and arrival from Athens.¹⁰

The dating of the Breviarium sheds some light on the relationship between the respective works of Nicephorus and Theophanes. A date before 787 for the writing of the Breviarium¹¹ is favored by some because Nicephorus appears not to know of the Second Council of Nicaea or of the end of iconoclasm. Others find in the Breviarium implicit, cautious criticism of Irene that most likely would have been written during her reign from 797 to 802, after she thwarted her son Constantine VI's attempted reign.¹² Although the Breviarium could have been written any time before Nicephorus' 829 death¹³, it was probably

written before Theophanes wrote the Chronographia, ca. 814. In all likelihood, Nicephorus did not use the Chronographia. Moreover, it is very unlikely that Theophanes knew or used the Breviarium, since he left no telltale traces of the Breviarium in his Chronographia as he did with other sources. The similarities between them are the result of similar sources. No scholar argues that Theophanes read the Breviarium or that Nicephorus read the Chronographia. In any case, both men were equally distant in time from the seventh century.

Nicephorus worked in a different manner than Theophanes, and this chapter outlines Nicephorus' historical method by using examples that show how Nicephorus revised and altered the historical record that he received. Our evaluation makes use of the two different versions of Nicephorus' work (the Breviarium and the London Codex), as well as other sources, including Theophanes' Chronographia and the Chronicon Paschale.

One of our guiding assumptions is that differences between the London Codex and the Breviarium are due to changes made by Nicephorus himself. This is the starting point for showing that unlike Theophanes, who was always strongly influenced by his sources, Nicephorus wrote entirely in his own words and gave his own interpretation of events. For example, like Procopius and Theophylact, Nicephorus used elaborate formulae for titles and names of people.¹⁴ However, he appears to have simplified his expression from the London Codex to the Breviarium. For example, he states that when Priskos was in

charge of Heraclius' army in the East, the soldiers "were called Bucellarians in the local dialect".¹⁵ The London Codex has this phrase, but the Breviarium leaves it out.¹⁶ Other examples of the same kind of editorial work can be cited. Nicephorus (in the Breviarium) renamed Heraclius' child Favian, which sounds more Roman.¹⁷ The speech attributed to the Persian general Saitos¹⁸ is, in the London Codex,

elegant than in the Breviarium. Such a change certainly suggests that the entire speech was invented by Nicephorus.

Another change from the London Codex to the Breviarium suggests the author's intent. The London Codex discusses Martina, the niece whom Heraclius married and who bore him only crippled children, a divine penalty which according to the Breviarium (but not the London Codex) shows that "Justice triumphed over immorality".¹⁹ Nicephorus had a special interest in Martina that may stem from his opinion of the Empress Irene, another woman whose influence and rule were scorned by some.²⁰ Nicephorus was appointed Patriarch by the man who deposed Irene. Of course editorial changes from one draft to the next are not conclusive proofs. They do, however, encourage one to look deeper into Nicephorus' method.

The following examples further illustrate Nicephorus' method. During Heraclius' invasion of Persia, Heraclius captured the town of Ganzaka in Persian Armenia where, according to Thephanes, he seized "the things of Croesus" and destroyed the fire alters of the Zoroastrians.²¹ Nicephorus

retells the same incident but does not mention "the things of Croesus". Instead, he describes how Heraclius smashed one of the altars on which Chosroes' image was enthroned and appeared to create thunder and lightning (the Persians devised machines for this).²² The other sources mention no such altar connected with either this time or place. Did Nicephorus have a more complete source or did he have the same source, which he transformed? "The things of Croesus" appear to have reminded him of the story in Herodotus that Croesus, ancient king of Lydia, about to be burned on a pyre by Cyrus, king of Persia, called down a thunderstorm from the night sky and put out the fire.²³ Nicephorus may have combined "the things of Croesus" with the Persian fire altars and assumed that the chroniclers meant a legendary altar to the Persian king that Nicephorus knew about from another source. Rather than imagine another source for Nicephorus, it is simpler to conclude that Theophanes accurately gives the traditional explanation for the capture of Ganzaka, while Nicephorus rearranges it into a more readable and imaginative form.

Nicephorus changes the so-called "Avar Surprise" in a similar fashion. The Avar khagan "surprised" an imperial celebration held in the khagan's honor by ambushing the participants.²⁴ Nicephorus describes the Romans who were ambushed as a "theatrical entourage" and reports that Heraclius himself "marched ahead in the procession". However, Theophanes and the author of the Chronicon Paschale report

that Heraclius went out with his senators, nobles, clergy, workingmen and demesmen into Thrace to hold horse races in honor of the khagan. Heraclius went out to meet the Avars without an army because, according to Theophanes, "the khagan agreed to a peace"²⁵. The language Nicephorus chose makes it obvious that Heraclius was trying to impress the Avars, and even though Nicephorus may have judged the emperor's decision foolhardy, nevertheless, he does not change the essential nature of the incident as found in the chronicles.

However some modern historians see a great difference between Nicephorus' "theatrical entourage" and the senators, nobles, clergy, workingmen and demesmen in Theophanes and the Chronicon Paschale. They read these other sources to refer to an army of "demesmen" called out to protect the city while the regular armies were off fighting the Persians in Asia Minor.²⁶ However the existence of such a home army is probably a fiction.²⁷ All three sources show that Heraclius used this traditional gambit of Byzantine diplomacy and lost. Nicephorus' "theatrical entourage" is the same group from the horse races in Thrace. In 623, Heraclius apparently had no other choice than to bluff, as shown by the fact that he "forgave" the Avars for their ambush and reaffirmed the peace which had been negotiated before the attack.²⁸

Despite the alterations, Nicephorus' version of this story remains a restatement of the information found in Theophanes and the Chronicon Paschale. The additions, moreover, are Nicephorus' own. For example Nicephorus ends the "Avar Surprise"

by describing Heraclius as fleeing in civilian clothes from the ambush, a disgrace to the imperial dignity.²⁹ In our other sources, Heraclius is not mentioned as having fallen into any person danger.

The Breviarium and the Roman Senate's
615 Letter to Chosroes II

Nicephorus did more than make his narrative more critical of Heraclius' negotiations or imagine thrones atop Zoroastrian fire altars. One document from the year 615 provided him the means for writing his own reconstruction of the years of Heraclius' reign from 615 until the revived Roman armies conquered the Persians in the 620's. This document is a letter from the Roman senate to the Persian king Chosroes II in 615. The letter is not from Heraclius to Chosroes because in 615 the Persian did not recognize Heraclius' coronation. A copy is preserved in the Chronicon Paschale for that year.³⁰ Nicephorus may have found another copy of the letter or read it in the Chronicon Paschale.³¹ Perhaps the senate preserved it because it is a rare instance of senatorial action.

The senate's letter reveals that Chosroes was deeply involved in the intrigue which followed the murder of Maurice and his family, and that he justified the Persian invasion of Roman territory as an effort to destroy Phocas the usurper. From this letter, we also learn that the Persian general Saen (or Saitos)³² was conquering the Roman East and that negotiations had occurred between him and the Roman senate before the senate

had sent the letter to Chosroes. The letter admits that Phocas caused all the trouble between Persia and the Roman Empire, and admits that Persian armies had soundly defeated Roman forces in the ensuing struggle.

The letter goes on to explain to Chosroes that Heraclius, having saved the Roman state from Phocas, longed to return to Africa, owing to his father's death there and the resulting turmoil. Heraclius had urged the senate (in 610 or 611) to appoint someone else to the imperial office.³³ In its effort to propitiate Chosroes, the senate even admitted that Heraclius had been negligent in properly honoring the Persian king.

Also in the senate's letter is the information that Saitos, the Persian general, appeared in the suburbs of Chalcedon and that there Heraclius and the senate met him.³⁴ Saitos informed the Romans that he was not authorized to make peace, but once in Persia Saitos sent back notice that the Romans could and should send ambassadors. These ambassadors, Olympius, Leotius, and Anastasius, carried the senate's letter to Chosroes.³⁵

The senate's letter had enough basic information for Nicephorus to compose a quite different narrative of events. However, not included in the letter is reference to the arrest and chaining of the ambassadors, the speech by Saitos (which Nicephorus invented) and Chosroes' execution of Saitos. A close analysis of Nicephorus' narrative shows that these additions are from no other known source. We believe that they reflect Nicephorus' own interpretation of these events.

Actually, Nicephorus placed all the bare facts of the letter into new historical contexts. The letter itself was replaced by Saitos' speech, according to which Heraclius and the senate were tricked into sending ambassadors. Nicephorus' ambassadors are the same three men. The speech is just as friendly as is the senate's letter to Chosroes but in the Breviarium it becomes a treacherous deception because Chosroes arrested the ambassadors as soon as they crossed into Persian territory. Could this be Nicephorus' interpretation of what should have happened to them rather than what did? It is very unlikely that the Chronicon Paschale would introduce the ambassadors and their letter without mentioning that their mission ended in arrest. However Nicephorus concluded, we believe, that they were arrested.

He also concluded that Saitos was executed. The reason for adding the executions appears to be that Heraclius, according to the letter in the Chronicon Paschale, crossed over to the Asian shore to meet with Saitos. Nicephorus assumed that Saitos was besieging Chalcedon at this time.³⁶ From Nicephorus' point of view, Saitos should have seized Heraclius, but instead let him escape. Nicephorus concludes that Saitos' failure to capture Heraclius caused Chosroes to condemn Saitos to death. This would be a probable explanation if Theophanes did not report that Saitos was executed and embalmed in 625, years later, for losing a battle to Heraclius.³⁷ Theophanes must be believed, Nicephorus ignored.

To include the siege of Chalcedon, Nicephorus transformed the events mentioned in the senate's letter, since the letter mentions no siege at this time. The circumstances of Saitos' appearance along the shore of the Bosphoros suggest a diplomatic mission or a Persian incursion, not a siege. If it was a siege, why was it stopped before a peace was signed? If Saitos controlled Asia Minor sufficiently to besiege a city directly opposite Constantinople, why did he wait until he reached Persian territory before throwing the ambassadors into irons?³⁸ (Theophanes also mentions at just this time a siege amid a long series of Persian invasions.³⁹)

Nicephorus wasn't merely following the chronicler tradition in his inclusion of the siege of Chalcedon. Theophanes and the chronicle tradition may have actually referred to the siege of "Carthage", not Chalcedon. A confusion of Carthage and Chalcedon could be a copying error that made its way into Nicephorus' source. It may be a simple oversight on his part.

The oldest manuscript evidence for the actual name of the besieged city of 615 is "Kartaginem" in a ninth century Latin translation of Theophanes.⁴⁰ However the later Greek manuscripts of Theophanes mention Chalcedon although the de Boer edition of Theophanes prefers Carthage to Chalcedon.⁴¹ All the sources agree that the Persians advanced into Syria, then Palestine and Egypt, capturing Alexandria as an opening to "all the East" of the Romans.⁴² Carthage stands out as the next logical target of the Persian advance.⁴³ If it is Carthage

and not Chalcedon, Nicephorus' error substantiates our belief that he was using the same basic sources as Theophanes and rewriting them.

Other historical facts that are unique to Nicephorus' Breviarium may be spurious. Nicephorus alone claims that Heraclius planned to go back to Africa after he became emperor, implying that Heraclius wanted to transfer the capital there.⁴⁴ The senate's letter, it will be recalled, mentions Heraclius' desire to abdicate because of his father's death in Africa. No contemporary would have interpreted this as a desire to move the capital from impregnable Constantinople to vulnerable Carthage. Does Nicephorus mention this as one more black mark against Heraclius?

Nicephorus is also unique in claiming that Heraclius offered the throne to the patrician Priskos before he accepted it himself in 610.⁴⁵ The senate's letter mentioned that Heraclius offered the throne to someone else at the time his father died.⁴⁶ Nicephorus changed this unspecified reference to "Priskos", who was, in 610, the most prominent conspirator against Phocas.⁴⁷

Nicephorus' View of Heraclius' Hydrophobia

The senate's letter in the Chronicon Paschale and in Theophanes' Chronographia does not explain everything that is unique in Nicephorus' Breviarium. The examples in this chapter lead one to question the rest of Nicephorus' history. When the Breviarium cannot be traced to known sources, one must look

next to Nicephorus' inventiveness and then to ninth century legend and hearsay. One need not resort to speculation about a third source. For example, Heraclius' hydrophobia was a well-known legend rather than a clinical fact that Nicephorus embellishes in the Breviarium. According to Nicephorus, Heraclius came back from defeat at the hands of the Arabs in the East and refused to cross the Bosphoros for several years because of hydrophobia.⁴⁸ A bridge of boats was finally contrived so that he could ride into Constantinople as though on a tree-lined country lane. He returned to the city to establish the succession to the throne and to secure the position of his niece and wife Martina.⁴⁹ A related version of this legend states that Heraclius filled with earth all the cisterns in Hieria while he was there because his death "by water" was prophesied.⁵⁰ Appropriately, Heraclius died of dropsy. He suffered from constant effusions of water as though to drown him.⁵¹

The kernels of truth in Nicephorus' account of Heraclius' last years can be found in other sources. Heraclius stayed away Constantinople in the 630's after one unsuccessful and humiliating campaign against the Arabs. He came back to the city only to establish the succession to his imperial throne. Another reason he stayed away is found in his religious policies, about which Nicephorus says little.⁵² There was also the issue of Heraclius' popularity and the popularity of his marriage to Martina. One can trace the source of the boat bridge to tales

of Gaius Caesar (Caligula) and Xerxes, both known to Nicephorus.⁵³ Finally, one may find that "hydrophobia" is Nicephorus' euphemism for "unpopularity". But Nicephorus was faithful to one event. Heraclius died of dropsy.

In conclusion, one can say several things about Nicephorus that set him in contrast to Theophanes. Nicephorus sought to continue the tradition of historical writing found in Theophylact. His history starts where Theophylact's ends. Theophanes transformed Theophylact's history in the Chronographia. Nicephorus wrote a continuous and smooth narrative. Theophanes broke the work of Theophylact and others apart into his annals. Nicephorus wrote carefully and rewrote. He reveals his own opinion of Heraclius and of Martina at every turn. Theophanes devoted his time to placing passages into his annals, not to revisions. Theophanes did not reveal his own opinion of Maurice or Heraclius. Nicephorus in the final analysis revealed much more of himself than Theophanes did. He is also, one imagines, more attractive as a historian.

On the other hand, Nicephorus' errors lead us to intentional alterations of the historical record. When it is possible to compare Nicephorus to reliable informants from other sources, he proves to be a counterfeiter. Many of his unique episodes are either legendary or anachronistic. When Theophanes is found to err, the reason turns out to be problems with the sources. Both men wrote about the seventh century (and other centuries as well). Both men sought to write about

their distant past. Nicephorus' purpose, whatever else it may have been, was partly to continue Theophylact. Unfortunately, the sources to accomplish that mission did not exist. Fortunately for us, Theophanes did not yield to the same temptation. He was content to be a student of history, not a second Theophylact.

Footnotes to Chapter VII

¹Paul Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople (Oxford, 1958) and A.J. Visser, Nikephoros und der Bilderstreit (Haag, 1952) are the basic works on Nicephorus.

²Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, 3-77.

³Uspensky, "Očerki...", Vizantijskij Vremennik 4(1951), 225-236 and passim and Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus, 157-159.

⁴G. Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople", B 24(1954) 246-247 and Vita Nicephorii Ignatii Diaconii in Nicephorus, 149-152. Cf. Paul Lemerle, Le premier humanisme byzantine (Paris, 1971), 98-108, for a composite picture of the typical educated Byzantine at the turn of the ninth century.

⁵Photii Bibliotheca, ed. R. Henry (Paris, 1959), I, 98.

⁶Alexander, The Patriarch Nicephorus, 157-158.

⁷Bibliotheca, 98, ἱστορικὸν σύντομον.

⁸Nicephorus, 3.4, ἱστορία σύντομος.

⁹This is the opinion of C. Mango, who is working on a new edition of the Breviarium which incorporates the London Codex. Louis Orosz, The London Manuscript of Nikephoros' "Breviarium" (Budapest, 1948) published parts of the London Codex and a commentary on it.

¹⁰Nicephorus, 77.9-12, Eighth Indiction (December, 769).

¹¹Beck, "Mönchschronik", 193, note 23 and Tinnefeld, 57, note 140.

¹²Walter Ohnsorge, "Das Kaisertum der Eirene und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen", Saeculum 14(1963), 225. Published separately as Konstantinopel und der Okzident (Darmstadt, 1966), 55.

¹³Nicephorus was first an imperial official, then patriarch, and finally an exiled former patriarch. He was never restored to his throne though he lived on fifteen years after his deposition. In his early career he had access, one supposes, to imperial records. As patriarch, he would have perhaps had reason to write an apology for the reign of Nicephorus I, the man who made him patriarch, that is, a work critical in a veiled way of Irene. After 815, Nicephorus had the one thing he lacked in the two earlier periods, the leisure that was his as an exile. It seems dangerous to fix any particular date for the composition of the

Breviarium without specific proof.

¹⁴Instead of writing simply "Heraclius made his brother curopalates, Nicephorus wrote "Heraclius made his brother first after the emperor (those in the palace usually call him the curopalates)" (Nicephorus, 7). Cf. Mango, "Byzantine Literature as a Distorting Mirror" (Oxford, 1975) on Procopius and Cameron, Agathias on Agathias and Theophylact (neither scholar extends his comments to include Nicephorus' Breviarium).

¹⁵Orosz, 18.8-9. It is omitted in the Breviarium (Nicephorus, 6.24).

¹⁶The allusion to Bucellarians is probably obscure. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (De Thematibus, 71) noted what the Bucellarians had become by the tenth century, troops established in the sixth theme on his list. He states, however, that the name does not refer to a particular locale, but to their quartermaster. Passages cited by Du Cange (Glossarium, 213) refer to the soldier's biscuit. Rather than to any specific military unit, Nicephorus seems to be referring to the special relationship these soldiers had with their general Priskos. Heraclius was very careful with these soldiers when he removed Priskos from his command. The emperor tonsured Priskos and present Priskos to the army as their priest (Nicephorus, 6.21-30).

¹⁷Orosz, 21.6 and Nicephorus, 14.18, if this was not a simple scribal error.

¹⁸Orosz, 19 and Nicephorus, 9-11.

¹⁹Orosz, 21.6-8 and Nicephorus, 14.19-20.

²⁰Cf. Tinnefeld, 57-58.

²¹Theophanes, 308.5-6.

²²Nicephorus, 16.

²³Herodotus, I, 86. Croesus actually called upon Apollo to rescue him from the flames. Certainly, there may have been such a device and such an altar in existence, but it is the chronicle tradition that caused Nicephorus to connect it with this Heracleian conquest.

²⁴Nicephorus, 13.11, τὴν θυμελικὴν οὐκὴν προέπειπε, Theophanes, 301.29, μετὰ πάσης δορυφορίας βασιλικῆς, and Chronicon Paschale, 712.14-17, μετὰ τινων ἀρχόντων... καὶ δημοτῶν ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους....

- ²⁵Theophanes, 301.27-28.
- ²⁶Stratos, I, 147; G. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople", B 11 (1936), 632.
- ²⁷Cf. Cameron, Circus Factions, 257.
- ²⁸Theophanes, 302.18-21.
- ²⁹Nicephorus, 13.23-29.
- ³⁰Chronicon Paschale, 707-709.
- ³¹Hunger, I, 328.
- ³²Chronicon Paschale, 707, Σαῖν and Nicephorus, 9.14, Σάϊτος.
- ³³Chronicon Paschale, 707.
- ³⁴Ibid.
- ³⁵Ibid. Cf. Dölger, Regesten, 18, notice 166, August, 615.
- ³⁶Nicephorus, 9.19-20.
- ³⁷Theophanes, 315.23-26, A.M. 6117 (626).
- ³⁸Nicephorus, 11.20-25.
- ³⁹Theophanes, 301.15.
- ⁴⁰Theophanes, II, 20-30, but also Theophanes, 301, footnotes for lines 12 and 15. Carthage may have been better known to the Latin Anastasius Bibliothecarius, although he was quite familiar with Byzantium and certainly knew of Chalcedon. On the other, later Greek copyists were just as likely (if not more likely) to change Carthage to Chalcedon, since Carthage was lost to the Arabs in the meantime.
- ⁴¹Theophanes, 301.
- ⁴²Nicephorus, 9 and Theophanes, 300.20-301.24.
- ⁴³Three reasons make Carthage more likely than Chalcedon: (1) the capture of Carthage would cut off the grain supply to the rest of the Roman Empire; (2) Carthage was less defensible being farther away from Constantinople and (3) a fleet was required to besiege Chalcedon, something the Persians did not possess.
- ⁴⁴Bury, II, 218-219, takes this suggestion (Nicephorus, 12) to

its logical extreme, finding Heraclius struggling in "the iron fetters of 'damned custom'", so long as he remained in Constantinople. Cf. Stratos, III, 198-200 and Ostrogorsky. "The Byzantine Empire in the World of the Seventh Century", DOP 13(1959), 9-10, for other views of the capital's relations with seventh century emperors and of its insecurity.

⁴⁵Nicephorus, 5.10-11.

⁴⁶Chronicon Paschale, 708.

⁴⁷Theophanes, 295.27-29.

⁴⁸Nicephorus, 25.

⁴⁹Ibid., 25.27-26.9.

⁵⁰Theophanes Continuatus, 338.3-12, ... ἐξ ὕδατος αὐτὸν τελευτᾷ.

⁵¹Nicephorus, 27.7-11, χρόνου δὲ διελθόντος νόσῳ ὕδερικῇ περιπίπτει, καὶ ὄντων τὸ πάθος δυσίατον - ἐπὶ τούτῳ γὰρ ἐπεκτείνετο ὡς καὶ ἡνίκα ὀπουρεῖν ἐμελλε σάνίδα κατὰ τοῦ ἡτροῦ ἐπετίθει· ἐστρέφετο γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ οὖρα ἐπέμην.

⁵²Cf. Theophanes, 329.21-332.19, A.M.6021 (630). This is a long discussion of Heraclius and Monotheletism.

⁵³Cf. Cassius Dio's Roman History, ed. E. Cary (London, 1924), VII, 315.

CHAPTER VIII

GEORGE SYNKELLOS AND THEOPHANES:
"WHO WROTE THE CHRONICLE OF
THEOPHANES?"

Traditionally, the contemporaneous annals of the Chronographia from 775 A.D. to 813 A.D. and the Vita Theophanis along with other hagiographic material have been used to compile the scholarly picture of Theophanes. This chapter is devoted to a look at this scholarly opinion about Theophanes. In the case of Theophanes, these normally reliable sources of biographical information may do more harm than good to our understanding of the chronicler and his Chronographia. The mixture of evidence taken from the final annals of the Chronographia, along with the evidence of hagiography have produced a most unlikely opinion about Theophanes' identity and an improbable scenario to explain the manner in which the Chronographia was composed.

The current consensus about the identity of the Theophanes who wrote the Chronographia includes several elements, which seem to us to make his authorship of the Chronographia highly unlikely. He was an isolated monk, old, and very sick at the time he wrote his chronicle.

He spent the last years of a long and pious life finishing the Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle of Abbot George, former Synkellos of Patriarch Tarasios (784-806).¹ Theophanes was badly educated for this task and did not have sufficient time to complete all the work involved. The earliest moment when he could have begun his work was 810 (or as late as 813) when George Synkellos turned over to Theophanes an unfinished chronicle, begging his friend Theophanes not to leave the project unfinished.² Theophanes is thought to have compiled his monumental chronicle (comprising 500 de Boor edition pages) before December of 814 when Leo V, "the Armenian," reverted to a policy of imperial iconoclasm. Most scholars believe that Theophanes would hardly have described Leo the Armenian as 'pious' and 'most legitimate' (as Theophanes did when Leo came to power in A.D. 813) unless the passage itself was written before Leo's apostasy (i.e. before his official iconoclasm).³ Theophanes' role has become, hence, a reductio ad absurdum: the Chronographia was finished in a matter of months (perhaps as few as twelve), not years, by a 54-year-old, uneducated, bed-ridden, monkish conscript, who had access to very few books.

Because the Chronographia in its impressive, present-

day form could not have been written in these circumstances (barring the possibility of a miracle), Professor Cyril Mango, a long-time and devoted student of Theophanes' Chronographia concluded that Theophanes wrote little if any of the chronicle that passes for his sole achievement.⁴ Professor Mango believes instead that George Synkellos⁵ wrote most of it. George Synkellos had intended to write (or rather 'compile') just such a work; he was in a position to witness and find sources for some of what Theophanes' Chronographia contains; and George Synkellos was in all respects a better and more likely candidate to have devoted his time and interest to assembling the extraordinary Chronographia Theophanis.

Professor Mango's argumentation is quite solid and difficult to refute. He has effectively eliminated the saint. There is but one alternative, it seems to me, to leaving the field open to George Synkellos. The alternative is another Theophanes. Mango's presentation depends on what Saint Theophanes Confessor could not have done, but our own on what a Theophanes who was not Theophanes Confessor could have done. For our Theophanes (Theophanes the Chronicler) and his friend George Synkellos, we can propose an entirely different relationship.

As soon as Theophanes is separated from his saintly biography, he can be allowed to speak in his own words, and those words are in his preface to the Chronographia. The preface is long and substantial, and the words are without any question his own. It gives George Synkellos substantial, if not excessive, credit for launching Theophanes as a chronicler, but we must reconstruct exactly what George Synkellos actually gave Theophanes.

Above all else, George Synkellos gave Theophanes a chronological system, known technically as the Alexandrine. It dates events from Creation, which is assumed to have taken place in 5492 B.C. Everything in George Synkellos' own Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle was dated by the years since Creation, and that same system was used by Theophanes. Theophanes' Chronographia contains the years A.M. 5777 to 6305 (285-813) inclusive.

The best way for George to have known the current year and the relationship of that year to Creation, to the Birth of Christ, and to all his other chronological landmarks was to have laid out a chronological skeleton that included all the world years and left room for the factual information that would be added later. This skeleton of a chronicle is what George gave Theophanes.

Because of this, the last world year (anno mundi) given by Theophanes (A.M. 6305) was also the last year in which George Synkellos was alive and working on his own Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle. George Synkellos died in 813, according to this reasoning.

One must, therefore, agree with Professor Mango that George Synkellos was still writing his own chronicle as late as the year 813. In fact, one must insist that he was. Within his text, George Synkellos mentioned his intention to reach eventually the year in which he was writing. He made this statement more than once, each time updating his anticipated goal from A.M. 6300 (808) to A.M. 6302 (810).⁶ George updated the number of years he intended to cover as each year passed him by.

The Alexandrine system was not used in Constantinople in 813 A.D. Professor Mango has observed that George Synkellos may have used it because it was still used on a day-to-day basis in Palestine (a strong suggestion that George was in Palestine throughout his own chronological career). However, as was seen throughout this dissertation, Theophanes was less familiar (or unfamiliar) with this system. The events Theophanes intended to place in his Chronographia were dated by 15-year indiction cycles

or by regnal years. Many of the chronological problems that have been found in Theophanes' work stem from this difference. George Synkellos handed Theophanes an Alexandrine (Palestinian) system which Theophanes used in Constantinople.

Theophanes, on the other hand, subjected himself to specific limits when he undertook to finish George's enterprise. Unlike George, Theophanes did not continuously update his chronicle until his own death (Theophanes Confessor died in 818), but instead restricted himself to the number of annals given to him by George Synkellos. This explains why the Chronographia stops in 813, but it does not explain how much of the actual writing of the chronicle Theophanes did.

Theophanes wrote that George Synkellos provided him with "many aformas" so that Theophanes might supply the things that were missing.⁷ The meaning of aformas in this passage has been variously defined.⁸ I believe that here it has only its literal meaning of "starting point", which for Theophanes were the annals themselves that George, on his death bed, had given him. Theophanes' assignment, as Theophanes saw it, was to fill up all of the annals from 284-813, for George had left them unfilled. George

had probably amassed parchment or paper with each anno mundi from 5777 (A.D. 284) until 6305 (A.D. 813), possibly including lists of emperors, patriarchs, caliphs and kings, leaving room within each annal for additional information he would record whenever he got around to it.⁹ He went to his death bed having reached the reign of Diocletian.

In the final analysis Theophanes did a better job of it than George Synkellos could have done. The content of Theophanes' Chronographia is not at all like that of George Synkellos' Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle, which is mostly a list of Old Testament figures and Egyptian kings.

George gave the responsibility for finishing his chronicle to Theophanes in 813. George may have arrived from Palestine with other refugees in that year, since Theophanes in annal 6305 A.M. reported exiles being received on Cyprus and in Constantinople because of anarchy and persecutions in the Muslim world.¹⁰ On the other hand, George may have retired to the monk Theophanes' Sigriane monastery in 813 to die. Where the scene between Theophanes and George took place is problematical and much less important than when. The reason the date 813 A.D. (A.M. 6305) is so important is that it fits so completely Theophanes'

own statement of what he did. It is now appropriate to look directly at Theophanes' preface and determine exactly what Theophanes did do.

Theophanes' Preface

The tradition among scholars has been to admire Theophanes as a chronographer and to dismiss him as a writer of narrative history. The former is not what he claimed to be in his preface, nor does it account for his relationship with George Synkellos. George was the true chronographer who provided the chronological skeleton for the chronicle.¹¹ Theophanes' chronological techniques were haphazard. This fact has surfaced often in this dissertation. Theophanes, as his preface shows, was involved in another type of project:

Most blessed Abbot George, who was also synkellos for Tarasios, the very saintly patriarch of Constantinople, being a clever and learned man, read many chronographs and historians, and after he accurately investigated them, wrote a concise chronographia from Adam until the reign of Diocletian, emperor of the Romans and persecutor of Christians; and, having calculated the years through much research, he reconciled their discords and corrected and combined as no man before him, and he registered the reigns and years of the ancient kings of every people and accurately listed the high priests and the tenures of the great ecumenical thrones, I mean, of

Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem, both those who shepherded their church in orthodoxy and those who ruled as pirates in heresy, according to what was accessible to him. But when he reached the end of his life and was unable to take his project to its conclusion, but, as we said before, having written as far as Diocletian, he departed the life here and migrated to the Lord while in the orthodox faith, and left behind for us his particular friend, the book which he compiled and the starting points (aformas) to supply the things missing in it. But we were not unaware of our ignorance and urged that the precision of speech necessary to do this was beyond us. But he urged us not to shrink from the task and not to leave the work unfinished, compelling us to enter upon it. Therefore, propelled by obedience towards him, we took in hand this thing beyond our power and avoided no hardship that was encountered. We sought many books, researching to the best of our ability this chronographia from Diocletian until Michael and his son Theophylact, and we narrated the imperial reigns and the patriarchates and their deeds accurately, along with the years when they happened, to the best of our ability, having added nothing from our own things [writings?], but having registered them in their proper places from the ancient historians and rhetoricians logographoi and arranged the deeds of each year, ordered them without confusion so that those reading will know in which year of each emperor which deed took place, whether military, ecclesiastical, political, popular or some other. For, I believe, one reading about the deeds of the ancients harvests no small profit. And if someone should find something praiseworthy in our effort, let him render to God the appropriate thanks and pray for us on behalf

of the Lord for our lack of learning and for our errors; and if he should find something left out, attribute this to our lack of learning and the indiscipline of our savage intellect, and forgive us for the Lord's sake. For, one is pleasing to God according to one's ability.¹²

This preface to the Chronographia emphasizes the following: (1) the great amount of research, especially chronological research, that Theophanes believed George Synkellos had done (Theophanes was clearly impressed); (2) the value of reading about the "deeds" (praxeis) of the past, deeds to which Theophanes gave particular attention by isolating each one within one of his annals; and (3) the fact that he had read historians and rhetoricians for his project (unlike George Synkellos who had relied on chronographers and historians).

The preface confirms what has already been proposed, namely that George Synkellos was the chronographer of the two men. The entire chronological system was a product of George's researches, and Theophanes shows an inordinate respect for George's chronological "discoveries". However, this respect is not a result of true appreciation for George's insights, but rather the respect lavished on the "expert" by someone who knows nothing about the subject. Theophanes was simply not familiar with the

Alexandrine system of dating events from creation, or with the elaborate schemes to arrange Old Testament prophets along the same chronological line with Greek philosophers and Egyptian pharaohs.¹³

The emphasis on "deeds" reveals the key difference between Theophanes and George Synkellos. Theophanes reported that George Synkellos had done nothing except coordinate the reigns of ancient kings and the patriarchs of the pentarchy of Christendom. And this is, in fact, a fair description of George Synkellos's Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle. There are relatively few "deeds" in it and a great many lists. On the other hand, Theophanes listed different kinds (military, ecclesiastical, political, etc.) of "deeds" that deserved to be included in his work. Theophanes was purposely doing something new with the chronicle George Synkellos begged him to write.

This emphasis on deeds, when combined with the interest in "historians and rhetoricians", leads us to one conclusion. The unfinished "book" that George Synkellos forced on an "unwilling" Theophanes was very similar to the Adam-to-Diocletian Chronographia of George Synkellos, a list of rulers and patriarchs with a minimum of narrative material, all arranged by years since the creation of the world. Theophanes would have said it was different, if

it was. The second half of Theophanes' preface, the section in which he writes about his project (as distinct from George's) is, in effect, an apology for having changed the nature of the work that George Synkellos hoped he would "finish". The change was to a narrative-dominated chronicle, one which came about because of Theophanes' interests and because of the types of sources Theophanes found and used to fill the annals that George Synkellos left him. George Synkellos read chronographers and historians.¹⁴ Theophanes, "avoiding no hardship",¹⁵ struggled through historians and rhetoricians.¹⁶ Herein lies the crucial difference and also a plausible explanation of where most of Theophanes' efforts were directed.

Theophanes read through Procopius, Theophylact Simocatta, the poet George of Pisidia, perhaps the church historians Sozomen, Socrates and Theodoret, and possibly Evagrius, and for the seventh century Trajan the patrician. These are all "historians and rhetoricians" that fit Theophanes' description of works that needed to be reduced to segments which could be placed in annals "without confusion".¹⁷ None of these works are clearcut chronicles, since most of them use a system of dating by regnal years, while sometimes including a year in the Byzantine Indiction cycle. They all would require much attention before they could be

reduced to fit a chronicle's format, as we have seen in the case of Theophylact and Trajan. This is the great effort Theophanes contributed to his Chronographia. At times the work could be simple "cut and paste," while at other times it required paraphrasing and sometimes re-writing. This dissertation even suggests that Theophanes believed his year-by-year method of presenting historical "deeds" was similar in clarity to traditional narrative or rhetorical history-writing.

For example, within the Chronographia, Theophanes made one other comment (which seems like a postscript to the preface) about the process by which he fit the tales of "deeds" into his annalistic format. The comment is made in annal 6161 (769) and may mark a point at which Theophanes ceased having narrative sources to rely upon.¹⁸ This particular comment was made just after Theophanes wrote that Constantine V Copronymos (emperor from 741-775) appointed three generals, each of whom would head one of the three major thematic armies in the Byzantine Empire.¹⁹ All three were to further Constantine V's iconoclastic policies. Theophanes made an interesting observation about them:

Now who would be adequate to tell of their unholy deeds, which I will record in part and in

their proper places? For, if I were to record one after the other every action of these men who were in the service of the one in power [Constantine V, 741-775], I do not think the universe itself would hold the books written; speaking as it is done in the New Testament [ἐυαγγελικῶς] is more appropriate.²⁰

The deeds of these iconoclasts are the kind of deeds Theophanes refers to in his preface. Here he even writes about putting the deeds "in their proper places" just as he wrote in the preface.²¹ These unholy deeds would fill up any number of books of history, but they would be too numerous, the history holding them unintelligible. The deeds would not have the value Theophanes would give them by treating them individually and selectively and isolating them in appropriate annals of Theophanes' Chronographia. This comment confirms an impression given by the preface - that Theophanes believed he was writing a work more useful than the works of the historians and rhetoricians that he was relying upon. When he ended his comment about the iconoclastic generals with the statement "speaking in the manner of the New Testament is more appropriate,"²² Theophanes may have divulged his overall method. Was he seeking a format that was as easily understood as the scriptures?

George Synkellos or Theophanes?

Who was Theophanes? Was he in a position to have carried out the task he set for himself? Even if one asserted that Theophanes did not need to be finished with the Chronographia by the December, 814 deadline imposed on him by Ostrogorsky,²³ it is difficult to believe that Theophanes Confessor undertook the task of reading all these historical works as an ill old man. After 815, for example, caught up in Second Iconoclasm's net of persecution, Theophanes did not have the leisure for reading historians and rhetoricians.²⁴ In the preface to the Chronographia there is the implication that he was reading all of these works for the first time, and an element of youthful enthusiasm that seems alien to a man like Theophanes, who had retired from a secular occupation at a very tender age. Would Theophanes Confessor have consented to do that sort of reading, as though it were a form of consolation for him while in exile? Aside from this, there was simply not enough time between 813 and the interrogation, exile and death of Theophanes.

The information in the Vita Theophanis cannot be squared with the preface to the Chronographia Theophanis.

Our Theophanes, who wrote the chronicle, may not be Theophanes Confessor.²⁵ This Theophanes began his work in 813 and completed it on his own time, being required to stop neither in December 814, nor in 818. The few things that are known about Theophanes (distinct from Theophanes Confessor) come from the preface, and from a few personal reminiscences that appear in the text of the Chronographia. Theophanes was present for the return in 796 to St. Euphemias's church of her relics,²⁶ as the Chronographia explains. He was in Constantinople in 811 to have a conversation with an official who quoted the Emperor Nicephorus' words to him.²⁷ This is not much to go on. The author does not himself indicate that his name was Theophanes, except in the title of the work.

Mango attributes the personal reminiscences that he found in Theophanes' Chronographia to George Synkellos, which further limits what can be known about Theophanes.²⁸ He was compelled to replace Theophanes in these passages with George Synkellos because he could not square Theophanes Confessor's Vita with the chronicler Theophanes. For example, Theophanes Confessor could not have been in Constantinople to have talked with Theodosius Salibaras before Theodosius' July 26, 811 death.²⁹ George Synkellos

was. George, not Theophanes, witnessed the return of the relics of St. Euphemia while he was in the company of Empress Irene, Constantine VI and Patriarch Tarasios in 796.³⁰ The author of Theophanes Confessor's Vita indicated that the saint left his monastery at Sigriane on the Sea of Marmora only to attend the Seventh Ecumenical Council in 787. Moreover, that Council was not held in Constantinople, but in Nicaea closer to Theophanes' monastery Megas Agros.³¹ Therefore, George Synkellos was probably, according to Mango, the actual eyewitness who reported what he saw and heard in Theophanes' Chronographia.

On the other hand, there is not a great deal of evidence that George Synkellos was in Constantinople throughout his career. If George is a better choice for author of most of the Chronographia, he should be shown to have been in Constantinople as an eyewitness to important events recorded in Theophanes' Chronographia. He had to be there for the patriarchate of Tarasios (784-806), and for the reign of Nicephorus I (802-811) (which is described in detail and with a strong personal bias against Nicephorus I in the Chronographia). He also ought to have grown up in Constantinople.³² Unfortunately, George was not such a permanent resident,

at least not in the key years to which the author of the Chronographia was an eyewitness.

Professor Mango, in fact, stressed the fact that George Synkellos had spent time in Palestine.³³ Because of his experiences there, George intended to extend his Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle to include the history of the Ishmaelites (Arabs) from the time of Mohammed (d. 632) until his own day.³⁴ It is not known exactly when George was a monk in Palestine, but his comments show that he had a strong affection for Palestine and Syria. George Synkellos' age is also an unknown quantity. One known fact is that George was an abbot when he died, not the synkellos of the patriarch of Constantinople.³⁵ The monasteries in which George implied he resided were all in Palestine.³⁶ If George was abbot of a monastery, the monastery must have been in Palestine. This likelihood may point to the general time period when George Synkellos was in Palestine.

George was Synkellos to Tarasios, who died in 806. He was not the Synkellos when he himself died. In the normal course of a career it would be unusual to be an abbot first and then to return to Constantinople and become Synkellos to the patriarch, especially for

a patriarch like Tarasios who was himself a priest only a short time before he became patriarch.³⁷ It is certainly possible that George Synkellos went to Palestine after his career as synkellos to Tarasios and that this was some time before 806. As a former Synkellos, George was in a position in Palestine to become the abbot of a monastery, especially if he was supported or sponsored by the patriarch of Constantinople. The most likely time for this to have happened was in 802 when Nicephorus I deposed Irene. The new emperor was not in a position to remove Patriarch Tarasios (if he desired to do so), but at his discretion he could replace the Patriarch's synkellos, who had in the case of George been appointed by Irene. George Synkellos retired to Palestine in 802 or at some time soon thereafter while Tarasios was still patriarch. He was probably not in Constantinople during most of the reign of Nicephorus I (802-811).³⁸

We may assume that George Synkellos was a monk in Palestine from 802 until 813 A.D. In Palestine he compiled his Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle. While writing there he had first-hand knowledge of the political tumult under Abbasid rule. This daily experience, not more distant memories, caused him to hope to write the history of his own people under Ishmaelite yoke. It was his

friend Theophanes, a resident of Constantinople, who was able to collect the evidence against Nicephorus I. Ironically, Theophanes, not George, wrote the history of the Arabs.

The chronicler Theophanes, not George, was in the best position to be the source of the personal comments that are found in the Chronographia. Like the preface, the comments are an integral part of the whole work. Specifically, as a special friend of George Synkellos, Theophanes could well have been present along with George when St. Euphemia's bones were restored to her church in 796 (or 781). Living continuously in Constantinople, Theophanes was in a position to observe Nicephorus I while George was in Palestine. Finally, Theophanes was alive to receive the news of five years of anarchy in Palestine and to record the information in A.M. 6301 (809), when the tumult began. George was dead before those five years of anarchy ended.³⁹ In Constantinople, Theophanes was in a position to collect the needed books, to talk to officials there (having remained in their good graces), and to add a small number of personal experiences. Ultimately, it is simply not fair to Theophanes to imply that he allowed comments made by George Synkellos about his

experience in Constantinople to seep into the Chronographia Theophanis when he was "mindlessly" preparing the work for publication.⁴⁰ If freed from the fetters of the Vita Theophanis Confessoris, Theophanes the Chronicler stands forth as the author of the work known by his name. George Synkellos was a possible back-up author only because his authorship posed fewer problems to historians than that of Theophanes Confessor.

It is time to develop a composite picture of Theophanes. Was he a monk?⁴¹ His friend George was a monk, but he became one under possible duress and only some time after 802. Theophanes was not associated with George's chronographic enterprise. Theophanes believed that George assembled and consulted a great many chronographers and historians.⁴² The truth is that George used only three works - the Old Testament, and two earlier chronographers of the 4th century.⁴³ If Theophanes had been associated with George's chronographic projects, he would have known how few books George actually possessed. Theophanes, on the contrary, based his judgement about George entirely on a list of the works George Synkellos' Chronographia seemed to claim to have read. The Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle cites everyone from Eusebius and Josephus to

Diodorus of Sicily⁴⁴ and even Xenophon,⁴⁵ but George did not read these authors himself. There is, apparently, no basis to claim that George Synkellos was the one capable of writing the Chronographia.⁴⁶

Theophanes, we believe, may have been an imperial official of significant, but not too high, office and rank. He shared some of George Synkellos' experiences and many of his likes and dislikes. Theophanes was in a position after 814 to enjoy his historical reading in tranquillity. He was out of office under Leo the Armenian. He was at least fifty years old and he did not start his historical research until 813/14. Because of the freshness of these discoveries to him, Theophanes was enthusiastic and naive about the importance of his project; this was the first time in his life he had sat down to read at any length. Theophanes had no experience with chronography or the problems of church calendars. He was habituated to the system of indictions that was used in Constantinople. Given the fact that Theophanes had close connections with a synkellos of the patriarch, we suggest that Theophanes had a position in the church hierarchy.

Theophanes made little effort to impose his own identity on the Chronographia - he was content to allow that it was owed largely to the genius (or at least inspiration)

of George Synkellos, a man of higher imperial rank than himself. Theophanes mistakenly considered George his intellectual superior as well. It was Theophanes' self-effacement and the mysteries of hagiography that attributed the Chronographia to St. Theophanes the Confessor. It was also no oversight on the part of the hagiographer (and later Constantinopolitan Patriarch) Methodios that the Vita Theophanis neither mentions the Chronographia nor any interest in history on the worthy saint's part. May we conclude the Saint never wrote the Chronographia? This chapter is the skeleton biography of Theophanes that the sources offer. This dissertation has shown that we know much more about the Chronographia than about its author.

Footnotes to Chapter VIII

¹Herbert Hunger, Die Höchsprachl Profane Literatur der Byzantiner (Munich, 1978), 340-347 and Moravcsik, I, 333. Cf. Krumbacher¹, 120-124.

²Theophanes, 3.

³H. Gelzer, Sextus Julius Africanus und die Byzantinische Chronographie (Leipzig, 1885), II, 184 made this observation. Also, George Ostrogorsky, "Theophanes", Real-Encyclopädie, second series, V(1934), 2129, repeated by Mango, op cit., 10. The favorable comments about Leo the Armenian are in Theophanes, 502.

⁴Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 14.

⁵Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 16. Professor Manog's hamstring Theophanes was "handed" George's "bulky dossier" and asked to "fill in certain gaps or verify certain calculations".

⁶Mango, 10, who cites George Synkellos, 4, 10, 389. George was compiling material from before 807 to 813. That much time was necessary.

⁷Theophanes, 4.2, καὶ ἀπορίας παρέσχε τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀναληρᾶσαι.

⁸Mango, "Books in the Byzantine Empire", Byzantine Books and Bookmen (Washington, 1975), 36, for "incipits" and "Who Wrote...", 10, especially note 3, for "materials". But Theophanes used ἀπορία often (an equivalent for πρόβλημα). Theophanes, 260.3, ἀπορία τῆς τυραννίδος ; 484.25, ἀπορίας δρασάμενος. It cannot be given the technical definition one might hope. "Point of departure" fits the context best. Annals were "points of departure".

⁹Theophanes apparently thought it his duty to fill every annal that George Synkellos bequeathed him. One extraordinary thing about Theophanes' Chronographia is that he found something to place in virtually every one of the 500-odd annals.

For example, Theophanes, 329-332 for anno mundi 6121 (629 A.D.) includes data on Monotheletism from 630 until 668, while some of the same material is duplicated at more appropriate points in the chronicle, cf. 347.7-14. This dissertation demonstrates in detail the process by which Theophanes spread the 20-odd years of the reign of Maurice that he took from Theophylact's History evenly over twenty annals. These annals were otherwise vacant except for non-narrative listings. Theophanes incorporated all of what

he intended to take from Procopius' Histories within two annals - Theophanes, A.M. 6026 and 6033. This does not mean he only possessed limited excerpts of Procopius. It merely indicates that Theophanes filled available space within those two annals. This is discussed supra, chp. ii, p. 86.

¹⁰Theophanes, 499.15-17.

¹¹This agrees with Mango's concluding statement, "Who Wrote...", 17, but it goes one step further to allow a separation of Synkellos' use of the Alexandrine world year system and Theophanes' use of Byzantine Indictions. If he had written the *Chronographia*, George Synkellos would have been likely to convert all Indictions to Alexandrine dates to conform to his earlier chronicle (which did not have this problem because Diocletian introduced the Indiction cycle in 298 or 313 A.D.). He would not have been as lacking in confidence as was Theophanes, who listed many Indictions mixed in with his narrative.

¹²Theophanes, 3-4.

¹³One common trait of chronographers is the desire to place all pagan culture within a Christian Creation. The obvious goal is to show that every event had some place in the Christian plan. Clearly, it was George Synkellos' intent to link his present with this entire providential scheme. Theophanes, who had no such purpose in mind (the preface to his work suggests the opposite), did not pursue this goal. His goal was to arrange historical deeds so that they could be quickly recovered and appreciated.

¹⁴Theophanes, 3.11-12.

¹⁵Ibid., 4.7-8.

¹⁶Ibid., 4.13-14.

¹⁷Ibid., 4.15.

¹⁸It is at this point in time that the one other existing history of Byzantine imperial history of the seventh and eighth centuries comes to an end. Patriarch Nicephorus' *Breviarium*, one recalls, covers the years from the 610 A.D. fall of Phocas to 764. For the period of the iconoclasts, Nicephorus and Theophanes rely on the same source. The two texts differ, but are obviously drawn from one common eighth century work. That work may end at the point Patriarch Nicephorus stopped. Theophanes went ahead from that point using other sources. These may be the years that he and his friends knew about from their own experience. This is also the time of the childhood of Saint Theophanes the Confessor, who was born in 760 A.D.

¹⁹Theophanes, 440.24-28, their appointment is dated to the 5th Indiction, 767.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 440.28-441.2, καὶ τὸς ἱκανὸς διηγεῖσθαι τὰ τούτων ἀνοσιουργήματα, ἃ μερικῶς ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις τόποις συγγράμμεν. πάντα γὰρ κατὰ μέρος συγγράμμεν τὰ πρῶτων ἔργα πρὸς θεραπείαν τοῦ κρατοῦντος γινόμενα οὐδ' αὐτὸν οἶμαι τὸν κόσμον χωρῆσαι τὰ γραφόμενα βιβλία, εὐαγγελικῶς εἰπεῖν σκευώτερον.

²¹*Ibid.*, 4.14 and 440.29, ἐν τοῖς ἰδίῳις τόποις.

²²*Ibid.*, 441.1-2, εὐαγγελικῶς εἰπεῖν σκευώτερον. "Speaking evangelically" did have this very specific meaning in the 8th and 9th centuries. Patriarch Tarasios, PG 98, 1441D used the averb in precisely the same way: In English, "For no one can serve both God and Mammon, as we know from Scripture"; In Greek, οὐδεὶς γὰρ θεῷ δουλεῖν δύναται καὶ μαμμώνα, ὡς εὐαγγελικῶς ἐμμεν.

²³One can disagree with the claim (Ostrogorsky, "Theophanes", 2129) that Theophanes would only have described Leo the Armenian (Leo V) as 'pious' and 'most legitimate' before December 814. If A.M. 6305 was meant to be the last annal Theophanes intended to fill, Leo the Armenian was, in fact, 'pious' and 'most legitimate' at that time. What Leo the Armenian did later on did not belong in that particular annal. Theophanes did the same thing with the first Isaurian Iconoclast, Leo III. Theophanes, 396.8 and 396.18, called Leo the Isaurian 'pious' in A.M. 6209 (718), well before Leo III became openly iconoclastic (727-730), and found that God through the intervention of the Theotokos sank Arab ships on Leo's behalf (Theophanes, 397.12-13). This apparent anomaly has been the cause of attempts to find an iconoclastic history within Theophanes' *Chronographia* and counter-attempts to show Theophanes would not have admitted such statements under any circumstance. Uspensky, "Očerki...", 401-404, discusses the possible interpretations. He would erase 'pious' from a purified text. He also judged that the divine intervention was perhaps not on the emperor's behalf, but on the empire's.

It is fruitless to hope for a source that will explain these apparent inconsistencies. The true explanation may be very simple. Theophanes worked one annal at a time. He also believed that emperors were orthodox until led astray. Leo the Isaurian was led astray in A.M. 6215, Theophanes, 402.7-9, and he did not begin his persecutions until he misinterpreted the volcanic eruptions near Santorini (Thera) (Theophanes, 404.18-405.2). Heraclius was duped into Monotheletism in 629 (Theophanes 329.21-330.31) after Heraclius' great victories over Persians, Avars and Slavs. Theophanes did not regard emperors who fell into heresy to be born heretics; only Constantine V Copronymos was born in heresy.

Professor Mango has taken the two statements about Leo the Armenian from two separate contexts (Theophanes, 502.4 and 502.24). In the first instance Leo was not yet emperor and was being backed as a possible candidate because 'pious and very valiant', two personal qualities rather than aspects of an imperial policy towards the orthodox. In the second, Leo was properly elected and acclaimed emperor. Making Leo's acclamation 'most legitimate', *εὐνομιώτατος* was the special goal of the army assembled 'before the city' (at Hebdomon?). These statements could easily be those of a later writer, even one who deplored Leo's iconoclasm.

Combining Theophanes' treatment of Leo the Isaurian with that of Leo the Armenian and both of these with Theophanes' year-by-year approach, one must strongly doubt the claim that Theophanes had to have written all the Chronographia before December, 814.

²⁴The difficulties Theophanes faced have not escaped scholars. C. Mango and I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara", *DOP* 27 (1973), 265, "One might be tempted to speculate that the writing was done during Theophanes' forced stay in the capital, between 814 and 816, since the monastery of Sergius and Bacchus, in which he was for a while confined, could have provided him with the sources necessary for the compilation of the chronicle and later on he could have worked in the prison of the palace of Eleutherios." They chose not to speculate in this way and concluded the Chronicle "was written entirely at Megas Agros".

²⁵One must, however, oppose the manuscript tradition which associates the Chronographia and Theophanes Confessor. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (Theophanes, II, 34.12-18) linked the saint and the chronicler in his ca. 872 preface to the Latin translation of the Chronographia.

One must also contend with the famous statement of Constantine VII Porphyrogentius (905-959) which claimed that Theophanes Confessor was the writer's uncle (*μητροθεός τῶν πατρῶν*). *DAI*, 98-99. The 10th century emperor's comment was recorded between 948 and 952 and therefore represents the tradition as it was found at least 125 years after Theophanes Confessor's death. It appears to depend almost entirely on the same evidence we possess today, Methodius' *Vita Theophanis*, and the ambiguous identification of that saint and the chronographer. It is certain that the emperor was related to the saint. Constantine VII may have strongly wished to be related to the chronographer. This would be a means for linking his 10th century historical scholarship firmly to the earlier tradition. "Up to this point the history of the Arabs is set in order chronologically by St. Theophanes, who founded the monastery of the so-called Megas Agros and was uncle on the mother's side of the great and pious and most Christian emperor Constantine,

son of Leo, the most wise and virtuous emperor, and grandson of Basil, of blessed memory for this tenure of the sceptre over the empire of the Romans", DAI, 99. The Vita Theophanis provided enough geneological information for Constantine to have come to the conclusion that Theophanes was his kin. Nothing in the Chronographia of Theophanes could lead him to that conclusion. Of course, there exists the possibility that their kinship was common knowledge, at least within the imperial circles of the palace. If it was a well-known fact, why was it necessary for Constantine to make this point to his son Romanus in a work that "was a secret and confidential document" (Jenkins, "General Introduction", DAI, 13).

I suggest that Theophanes' kinship was not a well-known fact, but instead a 'discovery' of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and his scholars. The discovery was a point of pride to the emperor. Such a discovery could only have been made within available texts. Therefore, one could safely assume that Constantine made the discovery in the 940s when he was using Theophanes' Chronographia for his De Thematis and περι ἐθνῶν and happened to consult Methodius' Vita Theophanis. Furthermore, Constantine, once the 'discovery' was made, included long passages of material from Theophanes because of this kinship. There was no better way to have an impact on his son Romanus than to be able to point to their shared 'maternal uncle' Theophanes for information and guidance.

Finally, Photius' Bibliotheca did not mention Theophanes' work. It is an argument e silentio to conclude that Photius would not have been interested in Theophanes' chronicle. It is more likely that he simply did not know the work. If he had known it, he surely would have used it in his apologetical and polemical research. I know of no evidence that Photius used the Chronographia. Apparently, then, before the tenth century, Theophanes' chronicle was neither well-known, nor sought after. Only a papal librarian from Rome had dug up a copy in the latter part of the ninth century. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus dug up another copy in the tenth century.

²⁶ Theophanes, 440.2-11.

²⁷ Ibid., 490.2-4.

²⁸ Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 14-16.

²⁹ Theophanes, 490.2-4.

³⁰ Ibid., 440.2-4. This is pure Theophanes. It resembles the language of his preface. Most obvious is the use of ἡμεῖς. Then, Theophanes protests that he was not worthy to be present. Just as he was not able to finish George Synkellos' chronicle, Theophanes also did not belong in such distinguished company.

One finds it hard imagining George, the patriarch's Synkellos (probably appointed by the Empress Irene herself and an important intermediary between empress and patriarch), protesting his unworthiness to be present with the empress and patriarch (Theophanes, 440.10-11).

I also think that there is reason to date this event in 781 rather than in 796. Theophanes (440.3) is the only source for dating the return of the bones to the 4th Indiction. Constantine of Tios described the same event and indicated that Irene, Tarasios and Constantine VI were all present, but he made some fundamental errors and he may well be a mid-ninth century source (cf. I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period", 124, not 87; Mango dates Constantine of Tios to c. 800, *JThS* 17 (1966), 485; For Constantine of Tios, *AASS Septembris* V, 280-283).

The 4th Indiction could be either 781 or 796 in the reign of Irene and Constantine VI. Irene immediately restored the church of St. Euphemia when her husband Leo the Khazar died in 780. Why would she have waited until 796 to restore the bones "in refutation of his (Constantine V's) godlessness, and proof of their (Constantine VI and Irene's) piety"? The 787 Seventh Ecumenical Council had fully re-established orthodoxy by that date. Tarasios was not patriarch in 781, but he was Irene's supporter in the early days of her reign. The rescue of such important relics in the earliest days of a return to 'orthodoxy' would have been an important opening shot in her campaign, and could have been achieved at relatively low cost. On the other hand, in 796, St. Euphemia's relics would not have been of particular importance.

My suggestion here was stimulated by the question of the source of this information about the bones of St. Euphemia. Was it George Synkellos or Theophanes? Theophanes generally used Indictions when he was doing whatever calculating was to be done. In this case, the text indicates the 4th Indiction (781 or 796). This is a very exact date, subject to little margin for error. The text also said "we witnessed this miraculous and noteworthy spectacle 22 years after τῆς τοῦ παρὰ νόμου τελευτῆς". This Greek phrase has been taken to mean "the death of the lawless one" (the death of Constantine V Copronymos in 775). The phrase could also mean "the perpetration of the lawless thing" (the burial at sea of St. Euphemia's bones?) Theophanes (448.18) considered that Constantine V died in the first month of the 14th Indiction. Adding 22 years to that yields the first month (September) to the 6th Indiction. The restoration of the relics, therefore, should have occurred in the 6th or perhaps the latter half of the 5th, but not in the 4th Indiction. Adding 22 to the Year of the Lord traditionally attached to Constantine V's death, 775, also does not place the miraculous restoration in 796, but 797. Since Theophanes did not describe Constantine V elsewhere as παρὰ νόμος (usually much worse, cf. Theophanes, 399.28-400.1; 413.11; 413.18-19; 414.16; 432.16; 436.27; 438.27), but did describe Constantine's Council in 754 as παρὰ νόμον (Theophanes, 427.29) and Constantine's father Leo the Isaurian as παρὰ νόμος (Theophanes, 407.15)

it may be possible that Constantine V's death was not the event that had taken place twenty-two years before.

The event that took place twenty-two years before the Fourth Indiction may have been the desecration of the saint's bones. The passage in Theophanes under A.M. 6258 (767) does not state specifically that Constantine threw her relics into the sea in that year. The deed was one example among many of policies that would have extended over many years. Twenty-two years before the Fourth Indiction is 759. This date would place the desecration of St. Euphemia's relics just after Constantine's Iconoclastic Council (754).

If the use of this earlier Fourth Indiction can be accepted, Theophanes, the future patriarch Tarasios, Irene and Constantine VI were present for the miraculous return of St. Euphemia's relics, an event launching the restoration of icons. George was not yet George Synkellos, in this case, and need not have been present at all. There are other examples in Theophanes of miracles marking the beginning of Irene's iconodulic reign. Cf. Theophanes, 455.12-17, A.M. 6273 (Fourth Indiction, 781) when a tomb was accidentally dug up and a letter found in which the dead man wrote, "In the reign of Constantine and Irene, the emperors, O Sun, you will see me again". There is a good case to be made for 781 and the Fourth Indiction.

³¹Vita Theophanis, chap. xv, Theophanes attended the council dressed like a beggar and riding an ass. In chap. xi, Methodios commented at length upon the peace that came with Irene ("Peace"). To the hagiographer, her elevation was doubly important as it came when the future saint Theophanes reached his twenty-first year. Theophanes was only twenty-seven at the 787 Council of Nicaea, but his biographer attributes the Council's success to Theophanes' saintliness. Theophanes appears to have had no further dealings with Irene.

³²They are also experiences that do not fit the career of the Theophanes of the Vita: In 764, Theophanes was four years old and too young to be climbing icebergs reported by him (Theophanes, 434.23-24), ὅν αὐτοῖσι καὶ ἡμεῖς γεγόμεν ἐπιβάντες ἐπὶ ἐνός αὐτῶν οὐν καὶ τισιν ὁμίλει ἅ' παύζοντες ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ; Theophanes' biographer Methodios praises emperor Nicephorus I (Vita Theophanis, chap. xxiv) despite the fact that Theophanes' Chronographia is the source of a very critical evaluation of Nicephorus' 802-811 reign (Theophanes, 476-493): Theophanes the chronicler treated him as nothing more than a usurper of Irene's throne. Cf. Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 16, note 23.

³³Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 12-13.

³⁴George Synkellos, 10, οἱ Ἰσμηλίται διώκοντες τὸν κατὰ τὸν πνεῦμα λαὸν θεοῖς κρίμασι καὶ ὑποστάσιαν μελετώντες τὴν ἐπὶ ἑσχατῶν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ μοναχίου Παύλου προκητευθεῖσαν διαγράψιν κατὰ δόξαμιν εἰς τοῦ νῦν ἐνεστώτος ἑξῶς χιλιοστοῦ τριακισιοστοῦ ἔτους ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἰνδικτικῶς πρώτης. Cf. Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 12. Theophanes' *Chronographia* achieved George's goal. However, George promised to write his own report of the persecutions and apostasies of the Ishmaelites. What is present in Theophanes' *Chronographia* is the history of Arabs, Saracens and Hagarenes. "Ishmael" is mentioned only when Theophanes was reporting Byzantine legends about Mohammad (Theophanes, 335.15). Of course, these are four common names used interchangeably by the Byzantines for their Muslim enemy. Nevertheless, this difference suggests that Theophanes came upon another chronicle written in Greek coming from Palestine with refugees in 813 as Brooks originally argued (E.W. Brooks, "The Sources of Theophanes and the Syriac Chroniclers", 586-587). That chronicle used the terms Hagarenes, Arabs and Saracens, rather than Ishmaelites. George Synkellos was not, it would appear, the source of this material.

³⁵Theophanes, 3.9, ὁ μὲν μοναχίσματος ἀββᾶς Γεώργιος, ὁ καὶ σύγκελλος γεγονὼς Ταρασίου.... Cf. Beck, "Mönchschronik", 189, for the view that George may have been a monk when he wrote his Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle, but he was most strongly influenced by his years as synkellos to Tarasios in Constantinople.

³⁶George Synkellos, 200.20-201 (pointed out by Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus...*; 179), 268.13-15 (Gelzer, 181), 244.8 (Gelzer, 181-182), and 272-273 (Gelzer, 182). All of these citations are used by Mango ("Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 13 and note 16). There are no such comparable admissions or observations about Palestine in Theophanes' *Chronographia*. Theophanes' personal comments refer only to Constantinople. One would have predicted, if George Synkellos were the author of Theophanes' work, personal comments about Palestine like those in George's Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle to be present in Theophanes' *Chronographia* since it, too, has much to report on the history of Palestine, Egypt, Syria and Arabia.

³⁷Bury, II, 495 and 522. Ignatios Diakonos (*Vita Tarasii*, ed. I.A. Heikel, *Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten Helsingfors* 17(1891), 398) attempts to explain why it was appropriate to remove Patriarch Paul from his throne and install Irene's choice Tarasios.

³⁸George was probably not in Constantinople when another synkellos (unnamed) was removed and maltreated (along with others) by Nicephorus I in February, 808 (Theophanes, 483-484) at which time George was already compiling his Adam-to-Diocletian chronicle. Mango ("Who Wrote The Chronicle of Theophanes?", 16) used this passage as a possible source for George's (as distinct from Theophanes') hatred for Nicephorus (if it existed).

³⁹Theophanes, 484.5-19, ἐπεκράτησε δὲ τῆς τοιαυτῆς ἀναρχίας ἡ κατ' ἐλλήνων καὶ ἡμῶν μωαβονία ἐτη ε' (5) and Theophanes, 499.15-28,

The first passage (quoted here) is in annal 6301 (809) and the second (not quoted) is in A.M. 6305 (813). One does not know what Theophanes considered to be the end of anarchy in Syria and Palestine, but it may have come to an end with the restoration of Abbasid authority and the end of civil war among the Muslims under their caliphs. Caliph Mamun (813-833) did not completely consolidate his position at Baghdad until 818 or thereabouts.

It should be pointed out that the actual time that elapsed between the first passage in A.M. 6301 and the second in 6305 was three and one-half years, not five (March, Second Indiction or 809 to the start of the Sixth Indiction, probably December, 812 or January, 813). The second passage does not mark the end of the period of anarchy that the chronicler knew to have gone on for five years. Theophanes, according to the information in these two passages, was writing during 814 and beyond the time when the anarchy ended in Palestine.

⁴⁰Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 16 and passim.

⁴¹Even if a monk, Theophanes was not "monkish". Cf. Beck, "Mönchschronik", 194-195 and supra, intro., p. 1.

⁴²Theophanes, 3.11-12.

⁴³Gelzer, 176-193 and most recently Mango, "Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D. 750-850", 36.

⁴⁴George Synkellos, 366.

⁴⁵Ibid., 485.

⁴⁶A great deal of modern scorn for Theophanes arises from the assumption that he was a man of little learning, trained in nothing more than "hunting and riding" (κυνηγέσθαι καὶ ἵππιδεσθαι, *Vita Theophanis*, chap. iv, trans. Mango, "Who Wrote the Chronicle of Theophanes?", 11 footnote 12). George Synkellos looked good only in comparison to Theophanes.

George Synkellos cannot be shown to have been learned either. Gelzer (*Sextus Julius Africanus...*, 178-179) assembled the little bits of data that could serve as a biographical sketch of George. Much of it he finds spurious. As Mango has sought to attribute personal comments in Theophanes' *Chronographia* to George Synkellos, we may make the case (in fact, a better case) that George's purported comments about Palestine were written by George's source, not by George himself. Cf. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus...*, II, 182, "Freilich kann man sie ebenso gut auf Panodoros zurückführen." This is an especially tempting suggestion when one acknowledges how many of the authors George implies he read reflect only what Panodoros and perhaps Ammianus read in the fourth century (cf. Gelzer, 185-189).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The story of the betrayal and capture of the "barbarian" Mousokios is buried in the details of Priskos' first campaign against the Slav Ardagastos, Theophylact having disguised the true nature of Mousokios' fate and identity. In reality, Mousokios was the Armenian Moushegh Mamikonien. The following factors point to this identification.

¹
Sebeos¹ wrote that Maurice transferred Armenian troops to Thrace after peace was obtained with the Persians in part, Maurice was interested in solving the problem that the Armenians always presented to the Roman Empire. This is in itself an interesting psychological study because Maurice was possibly an Armenian by birth.² According to Sebeos, Maurice recommended to Chosroes II that they both remove the Armenians from Armenia. The Armenians were used in a campaign in Thrace soon thereafter. It was a success at the start, but ended in a sound defeat for the Roman/Armenian arms. The Armenian leader Moushegh was captured, tied to a tree and killed by the barbarians. Theophylact, on the other hand, mentioned none of this activity. Significantly, these battles were fought in the

immediate aftermath of the Persian peace and can be dated to the years 592-595. Moreover, the Romans and Armenians were probably fighting the Slavs, since a treaty was in effect between the Avars and Romans.

In Theophylact, there are two stories that have a bearing upon this question. The first is that of a hunting party at the time Maurice himself was in Thrace.³ A man only identified as a Gaepid and an important young Byzantine ran ahead of all others. The Gaepid murdered the Byzantine for the beautiful belt he wore. A local found the body and brought it back. Maurice suspected that the local was the murderer and tortured him to death. The story does not end here, but is interrupted by sixteen pages of events that took place in the meantime. When the story is resumed,⁴ the Gaepid showed up in Byzantium and the man who made the belt spotted it. The Gaepid was put on trial, but he convinced his judges that he had taken the belt from the son of the Lombard king Albuin in battle on behalf of the Gaepid king Cunimond (whose daughter had been abducted by Albuin). Only when someone realized, just as the Gaepid was leaving town, that the battle between Albuin and Cunimond had taken place thirty

years before was the culprit caught and burned in an all-consuming fire.

The second story also concerns a Gaepid, but it is less incredible. It appears in Theophylact during the interval between the two parts of the first story.⁵ This Gaepid was at one time a Christian who was with the barbarians. Alexander, an officer of Priskos, the general who had just defeated the Slav Ardagastos, was scouting out the enemy near the Helibakios River [north of the Danube?] when he came upon a party of Slavs. He eventually captured these Slavs with the help of the Gaepid, who deserted and led the Romans to the Slavs, thus making their capture possible. Alexander wanted to learn the tribe of his captives, but even torture could not force them to reveal this. The Gaepid, however, described the situation in detail. He claimed they were attached to Mousokios, "the so-called rex of the barbarians",⁶ who was thirty parasangs away. Mousokios, he said, had sent these men as scouts to find out about the Romans because he had heard of what happened to Ardagastos. The Gaepid, using his familiarity with Mousokios' camp, enabled the Romans under Priskos to come upon the barbarians unawares

and to capture Mousokios, who was then killed in an all-night bloodbath.

Mousokios was vulnerable because of drunkenness. The barbarians were celebrating a memorial ceremony for Mousokios' brother. One might suspect that Ardagastos was his brother except for the fact that Theophylact clearly indicated that Ardagastos escaped alive.⁷ Ardagastos was a Slav, but Mousokios perhaps was not. When the Gaepid was in the barbarian camp, he signalled to the Roman Alexander by singing an Avar song. This may indicate that Mousokios was an Avar. However, we know that the Avar king was called Baian.

The common element in these two stories is the unnamed Gaepid, although, of course, not the same Gaepid in each story. The Gaepids, a powerful nation in Pannonia allied with the Romans in the time of Justinian, were destroyed by a combination of Lombards under Albuin and of Avars under Baian in 567. Theophylact knew of this from Menander whom he read and admired.⁸ From Menander he also knew that the Romans had agreed to the destruction of the Gaepids by refusing to help against the Lombards and Avars. This is the battle to which the Gaepid in the first story referred

when he tried explaining where he had obtained the belt of the murdered Roman. Since he claimed he had obtained the belt thirty years before, one can place his trial roughly in 597. The story indicated that the Gaepid came to Constantinople a year after the murder.⁹

In addition to providing a date for these two stories, the Gaepids also provide a theme for both of them. In the first, a Gaepid betrays an important Byzantine and then tells a story that reminds the Byzantines of the events of 567. Significantly, in the story the Gaepid tells his judges, he claims that the Romans helped the Gaepid Cunimond and that they defeated the Lombards, killing Albuin's son. This is an ill-concealed reference to a blunder committed by the emperor Justin II at that time. Justin II had refused help. In the second story, a formerly Christian Gaepid, who also experienced the betrayal of his tribe by the Romans, brought about the death of Mousokios, a rex of undetermined race. Both Gaepids were in their respective positions because of the demise of their king in 567. The second Gaepid, apparently, was now assisting the Romans after years of service to some barbarians.

Theophylact would have it believed that the Gaepid in the first story returned to Constantinople wearing the precious belt he had stolen from the murdered young Byzantine, that the Gaepid was able to convince a group of prominent citizens that he had won the belt as a spoil of battle from the son of the Lombard king even though the artisan who had made the belt identified it, and that the Gaepid was caught only when someone calculated that the event referred to by the Gaepid had taken place thirty years before. Theophylact's story is inventive, but hardly plausible.

I suggest that the young Byzantine in the story who went off into unfamiliar wooded areas with the Gaepid, who knew the lay of the land, was meant by Theophylact to be the Armenian Moushegh Mamikonien. Putting the brilliant Armenian noble in Thrace exposed him to just such a betrayal. The Gaepid was a soldier of equally high rank who was not immediately suspected of the murder. Only when he showed up with the belt was it concluded that the local who had brought the body to Maurice had not been the real murderer. In effect, an ambush of the Armenian had been staged to make it appear that the Armenian had been killed by barbarians in Thrace. The real instigator of

the entire plot could well have been Maurice, to whose interest it was to be rid of Moushegh Mamikonien.

The second story leaves an impression that Mousokios was a Slav or an Avar. Theophylact notes that Mousokios was taken unawares by the Roman Alexander because he was mourning a dead brother. Theophylact leaves the impression that Mousokios mourned the death of the Slav Ardagastos, as though Mousokios was a Slav. However, Ardagastos had not died.¹⁰ On the other hand, the impression is also left that Mousokios was an Avar because the Gaepid, while mixing with Mousokios' men, signalled to Alexander by singing Avar songs. Mousokios is called a barbarian and is said to be rex among these people, but he is not specifically designated either as Slav or Avar by Theophylact. Mousokios could have been the same Armenian noble murdered in the first story.

It is a curious fact that Theophylact resumed his story of the murdered Byzantine's precious belt immediately after the destruction of Mousokios in the second story.¹¹ The spoils taken from Mousokios' camp are not mentioned. Instead, the arrival of this other Gaepid with his alleged spoils from another battle long before took their place. The clear implication is that the two stories were meant by

Theophylact to be considered together. In effect, the spoils taken from Mousokios by Priskos and Alexander and sent to Maurice would be recognized in Constantinople for what they actually were - the precious possessions of Mousokios, a Mousokios who was not a Slav or an Avar, but the Armenian noble. The ruling citizens of the city pretended to believe that the Armenian had been killed by barbarians, that the spoils were the result of a great victory over the Slavs, until positive proof, a belt, came to light. Someone, perhaps a Gaepid, was openly flaunting the fact that he had brought about the death of Mousokios, whose identity was hitherto Slav or Avar.

There was no Slav or Avar rex or king called Mousokios known to any other source. The Slav leader Ardagastos is known, as is the Avar ruler Baian. Would Theophylact have introduced a genuine Slav or Avar ruler in such an obscure fashion? We think not and conclude that Theophylact meant the Armenian noble Moushegh Mamikonien.

Footnotes to Appendix A

¹Sebeos, 35.

²N. Adontz, "Les légendes de Maurice et de Constantin V, empereurs de Byzance", Mélanges Bidez (Brussels, 1934), II, 1-12 and now Charanis, "A Note on the Ethnic Origin of the Emperor Maurice", B 35(1965), 416-417, hold this view.

³Theophylact, 222.5-223.9 and 239.16-242.2.

⁴Ibid., 239.16.

⁵Ibid., 236.7-239.2.

⁶Ibid., 236.21-22.

⁷Ibid., 232.

⁸Ibid., 45.1-5.

⁹Ibid., 239.23-24. Baynes, "The Literary Construction of the History of Theophylact Simocatta", 40, used this tale to bolster his chronology.

¹⁰Ibid., 232.

¹¹Ibid., 239.23-24.

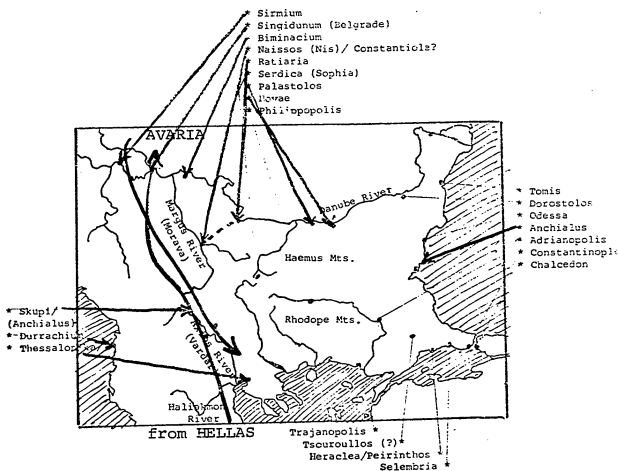
APPENDIX B

This appendix expands on the chronological arguments presented in the first chapter of this dissertation. Our purpose is to suggest a way in which the chronology and geography of the late sixth century in the Roman Empire can be understood. This discussion concentrates its attention on the invasion route from Pannonia down the Margus and Axios Rivers [see Figure 3 below]. It is this route and the areas adjacent to it that we suspect was a major area of activity in Theophylact's History. While looking for an explanation for the possible substitution of Drizipera for Thessalonika [discussed supra, chap. i], we were struck by a series of apparent contradictions. The major problem is that, despite its importance, Theophylact explains nothing of events along the Margus and Axios Rivers route while the Roman armies in Theophylact never operate in the vicinity of Thessalonika.¹

A natural corridor that Lemerle called the principle path towards the warm waters of the Aegian², the Margus and Axios Rivers made two cities very important to the defense

FIGURE 3

NAISSOS, SKUPI,
ANCHIALUS AND CONSTANTIOLA



of coastal Illyricum, Thessalonika and also Hellas. The two cities are Naissos and Skupi. Naissos, as was mentioned in the first chapter, was situated on the Upper Margus at points where an army could ford the river [see Figure 3]. Skupi, on the other hand, was near the source of the Axios River and controlled the mountain passes leading from the Upper reaches of the Margus to the Axios valley. Astonishingly, neither Naissos nor Skupi are mentioned by Theophylact, belying their importance in most other sources.³

We are going to attempt to establish that these towns are included in Theophylact's History, in the same way that Thessalonika has been included. The substitutions required are Skupi for Anchialus [at a few key points in Theophylact] and Naissos for Constantiola. Naissos is the easier of the two to accomplish. Naissos would fit in all the cases where Constantiola is mentioned in Theophylact's History.⁴ Furthermore, the name "Constantiola" appears to be of Theophylact's invention. It is not found in other sources for this general period. Besides, it translates as "little Constantine", a fitting name for the birthplace of Constantine the Great. The city Naissos in fact claimed that distinction. May we conclude Theophylact meant

Naissos? If so, we have good reason to address the more difficult problem of Anchialus and Skupi.

One recalls that the Avars invaded the Roman Empire soon after their capture of Sirmium in a long siege from 579-581. The first invasion has some interesting twists and turns to the invasion route taken that call for our scrutiny. Since the Avars controlled Sirmium, they first attacked Singidunum which they took at great cost (a Cadmean victory, according to Theophylact), then Augustas and Viminakium. Viminakium is on the Upper Danube near the point where the Margus flows into the Danube proper. Immediately after Viminakium, the Avars occupied Anchialus which is, as Figure 3 clearly shows, hundreds of miles away on the Black Sea coast. In Anchialus, the Avar khagan's wives begged him to spare the baths for their use.⁵ Since coastal Anchialus was famous for its baths, we are on apparently solid ground in assuming that the Avars jumped from Viminakium to Anchialus.

Three months after the Avars took Anchialus, the Romans sent the ambassadors Elpidios and Komentiolos.⁶ These negotiations collapsed, only to be resumed again in the next year, 584.⁷ For at least two years, and possibly indefinitely, the Avars occupied Anchialus. Theophylact does not record the recovery of this town.

There are discrepancies in Theophylact's record of these Avar activities that must be explained before we accept Theophylact's version without reservations. The Avars broke the peace they negotiated with Elpidios in 584. They invaded down the Danube this time around into "Scythia and Moesia"⁸ from one Danubian town to the next: Raterion first, then to Bononia, Akus, Dorostolos, Saldapa, Pannosa, Markianopolis to Tropaion. These cities are on a line East from Viminakium to the Black Sea town Tomae. The Avars would not have been marching in this manner were they already in control of Anchialus on the Black Sea. All these factors lead to the possibility that "Anchialus" was located closer to Avar-dominated territory than has been thought.

Where could Anchialus have been located to make it fit the circumstances of these invasions? Raterion, the first Danubian town attacked in the above list, is on a direct link by military road to Naissos.⁹ If the Avars were in control of a Dardanian town like Naissos or Skupi they would be in a position to launch such an attack down the Danube. Anchialus should have been such a place.

However, Theophylact is not alone when he used the name Anchialus. Evagrius recorded that twice before the Persian

War ended in 591 the Avars reached the Long Walls after destroying Singidunum and Anchialus, along with countless other fortresses.¹⁰ The Avars also overran Hellas, according to Evagrius. We can conclude one of two things about this evidence. On one hand, it is possible the Avars destroyed virtually all Roman cities on the Balkan Peninsula. Evagrius mentions Singidunum and Anchialus because they are the most prominent towns in Thracian and Illyricum. In effect, the Avars conquered the Romans in Europe.

On the other hand, there is a more reasonable possibility. Evagrius may have mentioned Singidunum and Anchialus because they were along the invasion route. This explanation does not require the belief that the Avars conquered all of European Byzantium. The invasion route seems to have aimed towards Hellas, that is, vaguely towards the Greek peninsula, so that a probable route for the Avars of Pannonia would be the Margus and Axios Rivers corridor. This explanation leaves us with a geographical puzzle, since Black Sea Anchialus is decidedly not a natural choice for an Avar attack that would eventually end up in Greece.

Stranger still is the fact that an Avar or Slav retreat was from Corinth in the heartland of Greece to Anchialus (!) en route to Sirmium. Michael the Syrian preserves this evidence.¹¹ The direct route to Sirmium is the same as that to Singidunum. What were these barbarians doing on the coast of the Black Sea? In retreat, the barbarians would surely have taken the shortest and safest path.

It is time to offer a suggestion as a replacement for Anchialus on the Black Sea. We have already strongly urged that Naissos and Constantiola are one and the same. According to Theophylact, Constantiola was under Avar domination.¹² If Constantiola is indeed Naissos, the Avars held an important stronghold in Dardania. One would expect an occupied Anchialus to be nearby.

Skupi is the only strong candidate. Skupi was also famous for its thermal baths.¹³ It could well have been known as "Anchialus" or, alternatively, Evagrius, the first historian to speak of the capture of an important town with baths, may have started the tradition about the fall of Anchialus, a tradition followed by Theophylact and Michael the Syrian. None of these sources had knowledge of the

hinterland of Europe away from the Aegean and Black Seas.

Within this dissertation, these geographical considerations are simply suggestions. They do, however, coincide with an idea developed in the main body of chapter one that the Avars were strongly established in Illyricum. We make no claim to have proven the identity of Skupi and occupied "Anchialus" or of Constantiola and Naissos, but the substitution of Naissos and Skupi brings immediate and interesting results. For example, when Priskos pursued the Slav Ardagastos and the barbarian Mousokios across two otherwise unknown rivers usually thought to be located north of the Danube, the Paspirios and the Helibakios, in 598, he may have been marching west rather than north. What is to prevent us from connecting these mystery rivers with Lake Prespa and the better known Haliakmon River [see Figure 3]? This identification would reveal Slavic pressure on Epirus and the frontiers of Hellas rather than only in areas along the Lower Danube.

Footnotes to Appendix B

¹Theophylact, 218-309, passim.

²Lemerle, "Invasions...", 276, "Aussi une route de très grande importance, non moindre que celle de la route Margus-Hèbre, est-elle celle qui, partant du Danube, suit d'abord le long du Margus, descend à Skup (Skoplje, Üsküb), atteint la vallée de l'Axios (Vardar) et par Stobi et les gorges de l'Axios débouche dans la plaine de Thessalonique. Cette grande verticale Margus-Axios a été, il me semble, au témoignage des textes comme la principale voie de pénétration du Danube vers l'Égée".

³Ibid., 267.

⁴Theophylact, 262.26 and 292.22.

⁵Ibid., 47.

⁶Ibid., 47.12.

⁷Ibid., 51.17-52.3 and Dölger, Regesten, 11 item 82 for the 584 date.

⁸Theophylact, 54.24.

⁹Die Peutingerische Tafel, ed. K. Müller (Ravensburg, 1887-88; re-issued, Stuttgart, 1962).

¹⁰Evagrius, 228.21-26.

¹¹Michael the Syrian, II, 363.

¹²Theophylact, 292.22.

¹³Procopius, IV, 101.27-102.15 (De aedificiis); Die Peutingerische Tafel.

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